SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: How much time have they taken?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): The Congress Party has taken 33 minutes.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Out of one hour.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): The total time allotted to the Congress Party was near about 42 minutes, and only two Members were allowed to speak.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: The Minister will reply tomorrow.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: May I make a submission? Let Mr. Dhabe complete his speech today. I will reply on Monday.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Tomorrow.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Not tomorrow. Tomorrow there is another Bill coming. I will reply on Monday. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: On Monday we are going to debate another important thing—the Education Policy. For your information, for the Muslim women Bill, we are devoting only one day. For educational policy we have decided to devote two days. That is the kind of importance that we attach to the education policy. If you take away some time from that day, that will also not be fair. This is f or your consideration.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Let us finish this today.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Shall I not reply? When do you want to hear me?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: We want a specific reply.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I am bringing thi to your notice implicitly for extending the session of the House by another day so that everybody can be accommodated.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: In any case it has to be. The Lok Sabha has been extended by another day.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): My request is that either we complete the Bill today or it will be continued on Monday.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Not tomorrow. It will be done on Monday.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Then I will speak on Monday.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): All right.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: Mr. Dhabe, you speak today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): He does not want to speak today then. All right, we will take up the Short Duration Discussion now.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION REGARDING RECENT KILLINGS OF HARIJANS IN ARWAL IN GAYA DISTRICT OF BIHAR

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with a heavy heart I raise a discussion on the recent mass killings of Harijans in a place which is associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi. It is extremely painful to raise such a discussion when we are celebrating the hundredth year of India's freedom movement. Perhaps, Sir, it is quite consistent with the tradition of the national movement that the Members present in the House shall unanimously from all sides seek to disown and condemn all that happened in Arwal.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it will be better and helpful for me to go into the problem if you will kindly remove the people standing around you while the proceedings of the House are going on. That will be quite helpful. (*Interruptions*). But he is your colleague, please allow him.

Sir, the incident occurred on April 19 in Arawal. The incident occurred in the compound of Gandhi Library. The incident occurred during a meeting that was taking place where agricultural workers were present. The number of agricultural workers were around three thousand. What was their offence for which the bellets were showered on them? The offence, according to the editorial in the 'Times of India' is that they have simply demolished a wall that was erected on a disputed land because that land was sought to be occupied by an affluent person. Sir, this is the grave offence and crime that the landless, adivasis of Bihar, North Bihar, had committed. Therefore, police came out from Thana with automatic weapons and firing was carried out and 20 people died, according to the Government statistics. But, according to me, my party delegation, the delegation of the Communist Party of India, that had visited the place, not less than 50 people have died as a result of the incident. Sir, they say, the custodians of law and order in Bihar say, If there is any law and order there, that the demonstrators had turned violent and therefore, the police had to fire. May I ask what was the sign of demonstration, a violent demonstration, of the poor peasants? Was any car burnt? Did any man die? Was any house put on fire? The only sign of violence which the people could see on the very day and the day next was that the windscreen of a car which used to carry one Government official was shattered. Merely for the breaking of the windscreen of a police car, twenty lives in Bihar had to be sacrificed. I do not know if the Home Minister himself is acquainted with the development that is taking place in Bihar. Therefore, it is only because they demolished a wall on a disputed Land sought to be taken over by a zamindar that the police fired. They are being called violent because the windscreen of a car was anished. They have been fired upon because they have picked up the courage—in the compound where a library is situated and dedicated to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi—to say that an affluent person cannot grab the lan dwhere they had set up their own houses. This is the charge. The charge is, why the down-trodden shall raise their head? The charge is, why the down-trodden shall not bend down? The charge is, why the down-trodden shall hold a meeting? The charge is, why the down-trodden shall demolish a wall? The charge is, why the down-trodden shall pick up courage and raise their voice and speak? That is the whole point, and they should be dominated; they must be dominated and there is no question of their not being subservient to the landlords and *benamidars* of Bihar and if they do not do it, they shall lose their lives; if they do not do it, they will be fired upon; if they do not do it, they will be the cause of violence; if they do not do it, then they are going to be killed. By whom? By the police. My dear gentlemen, the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi should understand; the torch-bearers of national movement should understand; the people who are celebrating 100 years of India's freedom movement in the Bombay Stadium should understand. It is not by holding a big meeting that you can pay a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi when the poor is oppressed. It is only by liberating the poor; it is only by throwing off their shackles that the memory of Mahatma Gandhi can be prepetuated.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): There is only one Gandhi—Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am not speaking of anyone else, anyone other than Mahatma Gandhi. I do not know of any other Gandhi who has found a permanent place in the Indian history than Mahatma Gandhi. I do not believe theire is any other Gandhi who has found a place in the Indian history other than Mahatma Gandhi. It is for the future to say who else will find his place.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar): Devil is quoting scriptures; Marxist is quoting Gandhi ji.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am speaking of the tragedy. People should understand where the shoe pinches. I expect a little bit of higher standards of intellectual understanding in the House, including myself, as to where the shoe pinches. I do not put a slur on anybody but I expect people to understand at least Mahatma Gandhi and all that he stood for. People should understand him. Sir,

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

I am speaking of the tragedy. The Library there was dedicated to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi. And there the people are killed; people are tortured and butchered. Let the Minister take note of it. I call it a State terrorism. It is not police violence. I call it State terrorism:—liquidation of hundreds and thousands of peasants in North Bihar tantamounts to State terrorism more or less; may be on a miniature scale than what we see in Sri Lanka. Sir, I do not put any particular party in the dock. I expect my friends.. (*Interruptions*) I expect people to be ashamed of it. The Indian Parliament, the elders, as we are called, should feel ashamed that such a thing is happening in Bihar. We should feel ashamed because the Director-General of Police of Bihar has issued a statement that he is going to take the help of private armies to put down lawlessness. What else is it, if it is not State terrorism? This is what is happening in Bihar. The real lawlessness is State terrorism.

Thirdly, Sir, there is connivance between the Bhoomi Sena and the police. Why this connivance? This connivance is due to the fact that the landless are asserting their rights. Let me quote, not my party paper not C.P.I. or the paper of my brother-party, the CPI(M). Let me quote again the 'Times of India'. It say 'The primary reason for this connivance appears to be their common opposition to the efforts of the landless to assert their rights to organise themselves around the elementary demand for minimum wage'. This is what the 'Times of India' says. Sir, people are being tortured. People are being killed because they have picked up courage to demand minimum wage. People are being tortured because they have picked up courage to take possession of the land which is under the illegal occupation of landlords? Sir, what is the land situation? Let us all be ashamed. Ninety per cent of the potential surplus land in the country is still in the hands of the zamindars. Even in regard to the remaining ten per cent, a large part is again in the hands of zamindars because of court cases. The zamindari abolition for which the patriotic Congress stood for still remains on paper only. The commitment of the Karachi Congress, the commitment of Mahatma Gandhi, the commitment of Jawaharlal Nehru that land will be given to the tillers is still an unfulfilled dream, even after so many years of India's freedom. The crime on the part of the landless in Bihar is that they have picked up courage to demand minimum wage. They have picked up courage to demand land for the tillers. They have picked up courage to demand that land legislation should be put into practice.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu) in the Chair.]

It is for this crime they are called criminals. It is for this crime they are being butchered. It is for this crime they are being killed. I am sorry to say, the police administration in Bihar is totally in the hands of landlords, totally against the landless, totally in connivance with the private armies and totally against the genuine demands of the common people. This is not a partisan question. I beg of my colleagues and comrades on either side. Please understand. This is not a Communist issue. Nor it is a Congress issue. This is a national issue. It puts us to shame that every day, hundred of people are being butchered. It puts the nation to shame that fifty people were killed for holding a meeting. It puts India's prestige in the international arena to shame because lawless law is in vogue in Bihar. It is a shame for all of us that the Director-General of Police of Bihar has said that he will take the help of private armies to put an end to lawlessness. What about the real lawlessness? Is not illegal occupation of land by the landlords is lawlessness? Is not the denial of minimum wage to agricultural workers lawlessness? Is not putting down the genuine demand, the genuine movement, of the landless with a heavy and lawlessness? Therefore, Sir, this is a perennial problem concerning the whole country. This is not a matter of Bihar only. This is a matter concerning the whole country. What do we see when we look at the country as a whole? The number of atrocities now being committed on the weaker sections is on the rise. I will just quote the figure (*Interruptions*)

I am pleading for your case, gentlement. Let me quote, these are the Government statistics. During three months only in 1985, 4000 case of atrocities on weaker sections had taken place in Madhya Pradesh. It is the highest record. 2000 cases of atrocities.. (*Interruptions*). Yes, my respected colleagues, I am only narrating the problem at the national level, I am only giving a national panorama. It is not an isolated question of Bihar alone. Dont't you think, dont't you believe that even Mrs. Gandhi spoke about the atrocities on the Harijans all over? I am not speaking of the atrocities in Bihar alone, it is a general feature all over India.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH (Bihar): What about West Bengal? What about the atrocities in West Bengal?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I can tell you with pride, I can tell you that not a single case of atrocity has been reported in West Bengal. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Can you point out ...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Comrade, I am capable of defending myself. If at all the Government led by Left Front has done anything, it has liberated the landless and down-trodden people in the rural areas of West Bengal. I can tell you that the largest amount of land... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please continue.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH: What happened in Patni in West Bengal? What happened in all those areas where poor people were killed. (*Interruptions*). They were poor Muslims, they were not bourgeois. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Do you agree whether the agricultural labour and the peasants in West Bengal are better off than the ones living in Bihar? Do you agree with this or not?

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH: No, I don't I have seen West Bengal also.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Thank you, that is what I wanted to know.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman. I am only astounded at the level of ignorance . . .

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH: I am also astounded at the knowledge and ignorance of the hon. Member about Bihar.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: It is the Planning Commission which has stated ... (*Interruptions*). Comrade Dipen Ghosh I am quite capable of defending myself The point is, according to the statistics of the Planning Commission, largest amount of land has been distributed among landless in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. This is the report of the Planning Commission. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Go through the books. Those books are not written by us. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: We are discussing atrocities, not the level of development. We are discussing the role of Bihar police and Bihar administration, we are not discussing the question of development. If it were the question of development, I would have agreed that many more things have to be done in West Bengal. We have to do many more things in West Bengal. After all, India is one and West Bengal is part of India. India suffers from hunger and we cannot liberate West Bengal from hunger. It is for you to tell us whether you want to throw us out, if that is, it is a different story.

My point is, it is the question of State terrorism. State administration is involved Bihar Government is involved, Bihar police is involved. There is a strange connivance between the police and the administration of Bihar. This is borne out by the report given in a bourgeois papar. That is why, Sir, I am raising this question with heavy heart. I expect patience and indulgence from all sides. Let us together put an end to it, let us together put pressure on the Bihar Government. There is a newspaper report which says that the Centre is not happy with Bihar. If this report is correct, why are my friends getting angry?

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

I am concentrating on the Congress Party. Neither do I have any criticism about the Prime Minister, nor do I propose to speak anything about the politics in general. We are discussing a specific socio-economic problem associated with the emergence of an independent force in the rural country side—*i.e.* the agricultural workers. There is a churning among them. You cannot rule them the way you are doing. You cannot put them down. You cannot shoot them. You cannot butcher them. Therefore, this emergence of a singular and new social force in the rural India is sought to be prevented by the counter-blast of the reactionary forces. Most unfortunately, the Government and administration of Bihar seeks to be a party in putting it down. I thought that we shall all unite to condemn the killings in Bihar, that we shall all unite to condemn the behaviour of the police in Bihar, that we shall all unite to demand a probe, that we shall all unite to say "let us put a stop to it". If Bihar goes this way, if law breaks down, if Government cannot function, then I suppose that will be a problem and shame not for the people of Bihar but for the whole country. I expect the Minister and other Member of the House who may have got prematurely agitated because of the deliberations that we are goin gto have tomorrow, they might be having a rehearsal today. If they are having it. I don't mind it, but if they quarrel like this people who are carrying on the struggle there will think that there are some people at least in the Indian Parliament who do not like plain speaking about murder of poor people and State terrorism on the toiling masses.

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हमारे मित्र ने अभी अरवल काण्ड की यहां पर बड़ी चर्चा की । यह सही है कि 21 आदमी इसमें मारे गये हैं। यह बहुत दुःखद है । लेकिन ये वस्तु स्थिति को बहुत दूर ले गये । इन्होंने सदन को गुमराह करने की कोशिश की और यह कहने की कोशिश की कि जैसे यह मजदूरों का प्रश्न था, खेतों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों की मजदूरी का प्रश्न था । यहां गोलियां चलाई गईं, मजदूरों पर गोलियां चलाई गईं, ऐसा कहने की इन्होंने कोशिश की है । अगर आप इस काण्ड के पीछे देखेंगे तो आपको पता चलेगा कि एक रजक हरिजन धोबी था, वह वहां पर कपड़े धोने का काम करता था । उसके दादा आदि पुश्तों से यह काम करते थे और उनके नाम पर यह था । इस रजक ने सन् 1984 में बन्दोबस्त के लिए निवेदन किया। उसके बाद उसमें 1985 में जांच हुई । अन्ततोगत्वा सन् 1986 में जिले के एल.आर.डी.सी. के पास मामला गया । उस हरिजन रजक के नाम से बन्दोबस्त किया गया । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे बिहार में ये नक्सलवादी लोग किसान मजदूर संग्राम समिति नामक एक ऐसी संस्था बनाये हुए जो गड़बड़ कर रही है । इसने बहुत से वामपंथी लोग घुसे हुए हैं । ये लोग वहां की शांति और अमन को भंग किये हुए हैं और लोगों को गुमराह कर रहे हैं। कोई गरीबी हटाने का कार्यक्रम नहीं चाहता है ? हमने गरीबी को हटाने का कार्यक्रम बनाया है । हम उस कार्यक्रम को मुस्तैदी से चलाना चाहते हैं... (**व्यवधान**) । यह किसान मजदूर संग्राम समिति पांच वर्षों से बिहार के छः जिलों में—पटना, गया, औरंगाबाद, भोजपुर और पाल आदि में आतंक फैलाये हुए है । इन्होंने वहां पर ऐसा आतंक फैला रखा है जैसा पंजाब में भी नहीं हो रहा है । इनके आतंक से वहां पर लोग डरते हैं । इन्होंने वहां पर अपनी पैरेलल गवर्नमेंट बनाई हुई है । ये नक्सलवादी लोग मजदूरों में आतंक फैलाये हुए हैं... (**व्यवधान**) ।

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): Why are you advocating for somebody. It is a cooked up story by the police.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Cock-and-bull story.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Does your Prime Minister approve of it? I ask you: does your Prime Minister approve of it that the Bihar situation is worse than that of Punjab? This is what you have said just now. What are you saying?

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र : श्रीमन्, मैं यह कह रहा था कि इन लोगों ने वहां पर आतंक फैला रखा है। वहां पर एक पांच कठठा का

स्थान है। वहां गड्ढा है, पानी है, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट कमीशन वहां गया और उसने इस घटना को अपने प्रतिवेदन में दिया। यह किसी दूसरे का मकान नहीं था, किसी की जमीन नहीं थी, यह रजाक के घर के बगल में था और वह उसका पुस्तैनी गड्ढा था जिसमें पानी था और उसमें वह कपड़े धोता था। अभी हमारे मित्र ने बड़े जोरों से कहा कि मजदूरों के नाम पर वहां पर कत्लेआम हुआ। लेकिन यह बात नहीं है। ये चाहते थे हमारे वहां समानांतर सरकार हो। डा. पीनियान नाम का एक आदमी है, जो बाहर का रहने वाला है, मध्य प्रदेश का रहने वाला है, वह कहता है कि इस क्षेत्र में जो फैसला होगा वह हमारा होगा। बिहार सरकार का फैसला यहां नहीं चलेगा। जो मैं चाहूंगा वही होगा। उसने ऐलान किया कि हम वहां कब्जा करेंगे। यह बड़ी शर्म की बात है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कानून हाथ में लेकर देश का संचालन नहीं हो सकता है। अगर इस तरह से लोग कानून हाथ में लेकर चले तो इससे कोई देश नहीं चल सकता है, कोई प्रांत नहीं चल सकता है।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Who is taking law into his own hands... (*Interruptions*)... What is the source of your report?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: You have raised a private army.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: It is a cooked-up story of the police..(*Interruptions*) ..

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He is giving the Bihar police report .(*Interruptions*)..

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र: उसने ऐलान किया था कि हम इस जमीन पर कब्जा करेंगे। हमारी सरकार की तरफ से वहां पर डी.एस.पी. तैनात हुए ताकि यह बात न हो सके। लेकिन श्रीमन् वे लोग 6-7 के गिरोह में चले आये। हमारी सरकार के सिपाहियों ने फायरिंग नहीं किया और उन लोगों को पकड़कर ले गये ताकि बलवा शांत हो। परन्तु जब बलवा शांत नहीं हुआ तो एस. पी. साहब और जिले के डी. एस. ओ. साहब पहुंचे। इन लोगों ने ऐलान किया था कि यहां हुकूमत हमारी है और यहां हमारा राज चलेगा, हमारा झंडा होगा। उन्होंने एस. पी. साहब पर कातीलाना हमला किया लेकिन वह आई. पी. एस. आफिसर बाल बाल बच गया, नहीं तो उसको खत्म कर लेते। उन्होंने इतना ही नहीं किया। उन्होंने कहा कि सारी हुकूमत हमारी है। यह बिहार सरकार मुलजिम है इसलिए इसकी हुकूमत कैसे चलेगी। इन लोगों ने सात सौ, आठ सौ लोगों की जमात को गुमराह करके नारे लगाये और थाने पर पत्थरबाजी की और शीशे फोड़ डाले और वहां पर आग लगाने की साजिश की। नतीजा इसका क्या होता, कोई भी सरकार चुप बैठी नहीं रहती। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि वैस्ट बंगाल में अगर इस तरह होता और थाने को लूटना चाहते तो आप क्या करते? आप गांधी के नाम पर...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Great Gandhian!

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र: आपके गांधी कार्ल मार्क्स है। हम गांधी जी के जो सिद्धान्त हैं उनका अनुकरण करते हैं, आप नहीं कर पाते। जब थाने को लूटने की बात हुई और थाने के सिपाहियों की जान जोखिम में पड़ी तो एस. डी. ओ. ने गोली चलाने का आदेश दिया। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हरिजन पर अट्रोसिटीज की बात ये लोग करते हैं।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He is giving out a police report from Bihar.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He will put the police officer there to shame.

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र: श्रीमन्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इसमें जो 21 आदमी मारे गये इनमें 7 हरिजन हैं और 14 आदमी नान-हरिजन हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि..

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Let him say there has been no firing at all.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: There has been no firing, no lathi-charge, nothing.

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Jallianwala-bagh of the Congress regime!

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र . . . (व्यवधान) . . यह हरिजनों पर अत्याचार की बात नहीं है। संग्राम समिति के लोगों में इन लोगों को गुमराह करके वहां पर उतथियों की जमात बनाई है। श्रीमन्, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि कि आप पांच सालों का रिकार्ड देख लीजिये। 1981 से 85 के बीच में वहां पर 199 मर्डर्स इन लोगों ने किये हैं। पुलिस का गन लूटा है 35, फायर आर्म्स पब्लिक से लूटे हैं 73 अर अदर आफेंसेज छोटी मोटी मारपीट के मामले हैं 418। श्रीमन्, यह रिकार्ड की बात है। **(व्यवधान)** यह न्यूनतम मजदूरी की बात करते हैं, इस संग्राम समिति की बात करते हैं **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: That is because of the age-old injustice meted out to them.

श्री महेन्द्र सिंह मिश्र : यह कहते हैं कि न्यूनतम मजदूरी के लिए **(व्यवधान)** खेती करना जानते नहीं हो, निमन वेजेज पर क्या बोलेंगे। **(व्यवधान)** चुप रहो **(व्यवधान)**

श्री दीपेन घोष : बेलछी में जो हत्याकांड हुआ था, उस वक्त क्या हुआ था **(व्यवधान)**

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र : बिहार सरकार ने इस पर एक क्वासी ज्यूडिशियल इन्क्वायरी की घोषणा की है . . . **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Why quasi why not judicial?. If you stand by that statement, agree to the demand for a judicial enquiry. Let the truth come out. *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Let us hear his views. Please sit down. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Let there be a Judicial enquiry. Let the people know who is correct, he or he. Let there be a judicial enquiry. Why are you afraid of having a judicial enquiry?

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र: हमारी प्रार्थना सुनिये। **(व्यवधान)**

श्री दीपेन घोष : खूनी का बयान सुनने को तैयार नहीं है। **(व्यवधान)** यह खूनी का बयान है **(व्यवधान)**

This is a statement of a murderer.

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र : तत्काल जो हरिजन मारे गये उनके लिए हमने 10 हजार रुपये अनुदान का एलान किया। मुआवजे का एलान किया **(व्यवधान)** इसलिए मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा और इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि यह कोई एट्रासिटी की बात नहीं है **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI DIPEN GOSH: Shame.

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र : यह कोई मिनिमम वेजेज की मजदूरी की बात नहीं है, जमीन वितरण का सवाल नहीं है। यह सवाल आज हमें समझना है कि गुंडागर्दी से देश चलेगा या कानून से देश चलेगा। अगर आप चाहते हो कि गुंडागर्दी से देश चले तो मैं कहना चाहूंगा भारत सरकार से . . . **(व्यवधान)** . . .

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Whose law? Zamindars' law? Private army's law?

श्री महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र: इस तरह से मुल्क नहीं चलेगा। श्रीमन्, मैं उस क्षेत्र से आता हूं हम लोग उस क्षेत्र से आते हैं, कोई भी व्यक्ति शाम को नहीं जा सकता है **(व्यवधान)** यह कहा जाता है कि वहां लोगों को मारते नहीं हैं, आदमी को 6 इंच छोटा कर देते हैं। सिर्फ गला काट देते हैं और 6 इंच छोटा कर देते हैं। यह इस जमात के लोग हैं जो लोगों को दिन-दहाड़े 6 इंच छोटा कर देते हैं। अगर सचमुच न्यूनतम मजदूरी की बात करते हैं, अगर सचमुच चाहते हैं कि उनकी माली हालत अच्छी हो तो बड़ी ईमानदारी से निष्ठा से काम करें। बिहार सरकार भी इसके लिए तत्पर है और लैंड सीलिंग कानून को बड़ी तत्परता के साथ लागू करती है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी सरकार को बिहार सरकार को जो काम करना चाहिये था उसने किया। **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Does he condemn the killings? I would like to ask him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): At the beginning he has done that.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He has not uttered a single word about that. He is a supporter of the killers.

*SHRI NARAYAN KAR (Tripura): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to thank you for the opportunity given to me to speak on this Short Duration discussion. I also thank other Honourable Members of this House who are well-versed in Parliamentary procedures and traditions. I shall always get guidance from them about those things. Their guidance will help me as a Memeber of this House. I hope, I shall always get guidance from the experienced Members of this House.

Sir, on the 19th April, 1986, violent attacks were made against Harijans at Arwal village of Jahanabad sub-division in Gaya district. Already two Speakers have made their observations on that cruel incident. Immediately after that incident the Bihar Government made a statement. In that statement they said that the victims of that incident became violent and gheraoed the Police Station. They also tried to kill the the Superintendent of Police. In that situation the Police had to resort to firings and, consequently, eleven persons died and nine persons were seriously injured. Injured persons were admittted to a hospital but they succumbed to their injuries later. So, the death toll was twenty in all.

What was the real cause of that trouble? We must go to the root cause of that trouble. What prompted the Police to resort to firings? This attack on Harijans should not be considered in isolation. Harijans were being tortured elsewhere even before this incident took place. Nine Harijan families took possession of only 8-9 katha of waste land. That land was actually a hole having a depth of 7-8 feet. The Harijans developed that land and built their cortages on it. They had been living there since 1970. In 1980 the Bihar Government announced that Harijans would be given house sites on a priority basis. So, these nine Harijan families hoped that they would become owners of the lands which were already in their possession. But they did not know that despite of the said announcement they would be evicted from their lands and face bullets. It all happened because of the fact that rich people bribed the Police Officers and Government Officials to evict these unfortunate people from their lands.

Sir, an attempt to evict these Harijan families from their lands was also made in December last year. In that attempt Jotedars were involved. One of them was the Chief Executive Engineer in the Department of Minor Irrigation. They bribed the Police Offiers and Government Officials and got a decree issued in their favour for the eviction of these people from their lands. They also got all male Harijans arrested. In protest against that arrest, Harijan women staged a dharna before the Office of Sub-divisional Magistrate. The Magistrate released all the male Members and instructed the Revenue Department not to transfer their lands to other persons. But the instruction of the Sub-divisional Magistrate was not honoured. Thereafter, attempts to evict these people from their lands continued. This year, some people belonging to Rajak Caste, bribed the Police Officers and Government Officials and got the houses of those Harijans demolished. The affected people made repeated appeals to the Government for justice. But they could not get justice.

It is wrong to say that Harijans indulged in veilent activities. These people have been living in a particular place for a long time. They made repeated appeals to the Government for justice. But when their houses were demolished, not a single Police Officer, not a single Government Official, not a single M.L.A. and not a single Minister visted them to know their sufferings. So, these affected Harijans assembled at Gandhi Maidan on the 19th April, 1986 to protest against the demolition of their houses. In that meeting they demanded for house-sites. It is our misfortune that such a legitimate demand of the Harijans was treated as a crime.

I hope, Ruling Party Members will agree with me that one of the programmes of the 20-Point Programme is that people below

*English translation of the original speech in Bengali.

[Shri Narayan Kar]

the poverty line should be lifted up. Another programme is that Harijans and landless agricultural labourers should be provided with lands. But the cruel murders of Harijans on the 19th April, 1986 showed us as to how the Government of Bihar was implementing the 20-Point Programme. That gruesome murder shocked the entire nation. That incident in Bihar should be a lesson for all of us.

Sir, this murder of Harijans in Bihar was a pre-planned one. It was reported in the Press that the superintendent of Police himself stood at the gate and encircled the entire trea like walls with the help of police personnel who were brought there in three vans. Those police personnel killed the Harijans mercilessly under his orders.

Hon. Members may remember the mass murder that took place at Jalianwalabagh. That type of murder used to take place during British days. British Police used to kill the freedom fighters in the manner as Bihar Police killed the Harijans who were struggling for their house-sites through peaceful means. So, the history of Jalianwalabagh was repeated in Bihar under Congress (I) regime. This heinous crime of Bihar Police is a disgrace to the nation. It must be condemned outright in the House.

Before this incident took place, the Chief Minister of Bihar made a statement that atrocities on Harijans in different districts of Bihar would be dealt with sternly. On the 22nd April, 1986, the Commissioner of Police there made a statement that they had no orders for blank-fire although it was said here that two rounds of blank fires were made on the assembly at Gandhi Maidan on the 19th April, 1986. He also instructed the Police to resort to firings whenever it would be necessary to murder people. So, a Member from the Ruling Party distored the Police Report here. I would like to say that the Chief Minister of Bihar and the Police Administration converted that Police Sub-division into a Police district overnight in a planned manner Again, the notorious Superintendent of Police was appointed three days before that ghastly incident took place.

The Jotedars in the concerned place sent telegrams to the Government for the transfer of S.D.O. as he was in favour of Harijins. Ultimately, telegraphic orders were issued for the transfer of that S.D.O. So, the entire administration was involved in a conspiracy to evict these Harijans from their lands. In that conspiracy were also involved the landlords of Bihar, who usually indulge in caste politics. These landlords have great influence in social economic and political affairs of that State. They have their private armies. The goondas belonging to these private armies are in possession of automatic guns. It is a fact that Bihar Police is not in a position to face these private armies. These private armies are also receiving patronage from political leaders of Ruling Party. I know that there are Congress M.L.As. in Bihar who are having more than 20,000 acres of land. So, one Hon. Member has rightly said that concentration of lands in few hands will not enable us to distribute lands to landless people. Under the situation, majority people will turn into landless agricultural labourers. So, the landless people are justified to protest aganst this sort of economic injustice

My Party does not believe in Politics of violence. But we always support democratic struggle of people against economic injustice. But the Government pays scant attention to the democratic struggles of people against economic injustice. The glaring example of that is the incident that took place in Bihar on the 19th April, 1986. In order to remedy this situation, surplus lands should be taken away from the landlords and thereafter that surplus land should be allotted to landless people. But the landlords of Bihar are always conspiring against landless people with the help of Police and Administration and with the help of their private armies. Consequenty, discontent is growing day by day among landless people. The incident of 19th April, 1986, was purely the result of conspiracy of landlords in Bihar. Similar incidents of atrocities on Harijans took place elsewhere in Bihar as a result of the conspiracy of landlords there.

Sir, this type of atrocity on Harijans must be condemned outright. We demand that a Judicial Enquiry Commission under the Chairmanship of a Supreme Court Judge should be appointed by the Bihar Government. I again demand that the Police Officer, under whose instructions the atrocities on Harijans were committed, must be brought to book.

With these words, I conclude. I again thank you all the Members of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Mr Narayan Kar, I congratulate you on your maiden speech.

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव (बिहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस विषय पर मैंने पहले चर्चा प्रारम्भ की थी, आज उस पर हम फिर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। मेरे पास राज्य सभा की दो किताबें हैं जो कि दोनों राज्य सभा की बहस हैं। यह बहस आज नहीं हुई है, बल्कि जब राज्य सभा को यह सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ था 22 जुलाई, 1977 को जब यहां पर बेलछी कांड पर चर्चा हुई थी। उसी तरह 11 मार्च, 1980 को पिपरा, पारसबीघा और नारायणपुर कांड पर राज्य सभा में चर्चा हुई थी। इन दोनों कांडों को पढ़ने से और देखने से पता चलता है..... (**व्यवधान**)

संसदीय कार्य (राज्य सभा) विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीताराम केसरी): उसमें हरिजन थे, इसमें और लोग भी बेचारे हैं। इसलिए आप इस तरह के केस को सैपरेट मत कीजिए, बहुत से लोग हैं। हम किसी केस के पक्ष या विपक्ष की बात नहीं करते हैं। आप सारी चीजों को विस्तार से कहिए। आप रैफर कर रहे हैं इसमें और लोग भी हैं।

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव: श्रीमन्, आपने ठीक ही कहा है। बेलछी कांड में 13 हरिजन थे, पिपरा में 14 हरिजन थे और पारसबीघा में 11 मारे गए, उसमें से 4 महिलाएं थीं। यह आपकी रिपोर्ट है। उस समय पिपरा कांड पर दो लाख रुपया प्रधान मंत्री कोष से दिया गया था उनकी सहायता के लिए। मैं इसलिए इस बात को उठाता हूं कि उस समय बिहार में अगर जनता पार्टी की सरकार थी तो केन्द्र में कांग्रेस (आई) की सरकार थी। आज भूतपूर्व प्रधानमंत्री जी की अगर आत्मा होती तो वह स्वयं रोती आपके कामों को देख करके। उस समय स्व. प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरागांधी वहां बिहार में जब हरिजनों पर जुल्म हुआ था तो वह स्वयं दौड़कर गई थीं। जाने का रास्ता नहीं था। हाथी पर चढ़ाकर आप ले गए थे। पैदल श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी वहां गई थी। आज उसी पार्टी की सरकार है और आज इस सरकार के गृह राज्य मंत्री गृह मंत्री और प्रधान मंत्री का जाना तो दूर रहा किसी छोटे मंत्री तक में यह प्रेरणा जागृत नहीं हुई कि वह बिहार में जाए और जहानाबाद कांड का वहां दूसरा उदाहरण हुआ है वहां जा करके देख सकते थे। कहां आपके दिल के दर्द गए? मैं अपनी बात नहीं करता, इस खंड में पं0 महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र जी बोले हैं, भाई रामानन्द यादव का भी इसमें दिया हुआ वक्तव्य है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा मैं अपनी बात नहीं कहता, उस समय बहस करते हुए एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा था। तीसरी बात, मान्यवर, पुलिस कनाइव करती है, मजिस्ट्रेसी कनाइव करती है, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन कनाइव करता है, इसलिए करता है कि उस पुलिस में, उस मजिस्ट्रेसी में बड़े अफसरों में उन्हीं काश्तकारों के बीच के लोग आए हुए हैं जिनके पास काफी जमीनें हैं जिनके दादा बड़े-बड़े ओहदों पर थे और आज वही लोग बड़े-बड़े ओहदों पर हैं। वे बड़े-बड़े किसानों के साथ कनाइव करते हैं, उनसे मिल जाते हैं और हरिजनों पर अत्याचार करते हैं और करने की छूट देते हैं। यह मेरी बात नहीं है, कांग्रेस पार्टी के एक वरिष्ठ माननीय सदस्य श्री रामानन्द यादव जी ने अपने विचार उस वक्त व्यक्त किए थे, मैं अपनी बात नहीं कहता आपने कहा था कि बिहार का चरित्र क्या बदल चुका है? बिहार का वह चरित्र क्या बदल चुका है? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं किसी एक जाति विशेष पर आरोप नहीं लगाना चाहता,

[श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव]

बिहार के अन्दर जितनी ताकतवर जातियां हैं जिनके हाथ में जमीन है चाहे वे ऊंची जाति के हों, चाहे पिछड़े वर्गों की मध्य जातियां हों जो जमीन जोतने वाली जातियां हैं, उन्होंने अपनी जमीनों की सुरक्षा के लिए अपनी सेवाएं बनाई हैं। क्या यह छिपा हुआ है? बिहार में अपनी जमीन की सुरक्षा करने के लिए राजपूतों ने अपनी कुंवरसेना बनाई है, अपनी जमीन की रक्षा करने के लिए यादवों ने अपनी लोरिक सेना बनाई है, अपनी ज़मीन की रक्षा करने के लिए भूमिहारों ने अपनी सेना बनाई है, अपनी जमीन की रक्षा करने के लिए जो वहां कुर्मी लोग हैं उन्होंने भूमिसेना का गठन किया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कहीं पर क्रांतिकारी समाजवादी सेना है। श्रीमन् जाति के जो अराजक तत्व हैं, जो असामाजिक तत्व हैं, जो गुंडा तत्व हैं, जाति के जो अपराधी हैं वे अपनी जाति के भूमिपतियों के पैसों से पलटन बनाते हैं, हथियार लेते हैं और गरीबों पर जुल्म करते हैं। उनके सीने पर गोली चलाते हैं। क्या मैं नहीं कहता, एक दो घटनाएं तो दूर रहीं, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, लगातार बिहार में जो घटनाएं घटती रही हैं, मैं उसको बताना चाहूंगा- यह एक नहीं है, कई हैं-12 अप्रैल को रोहतास जिले के जयपुर गांव में भूमि-विवाद के संदर्भ में दो बच्चों तथा दो महिलाओं की हत्या कर दी गयी, 13 अप्रैल की शाम जहानाबाद अनुमंडल के करपी थानान्तर्गत मुढ़ारी गांव में चार बीड़ी मजदूरों की जान, उन्हें लाल सेना का समर्थक बताकर गांव के भूमिहार सामन्तों ने ले ली। इसी दिन आधी रात को पटना ग्रामीण जिले के पालीगंज थाने के जिनपुरा गांव में लोरिक सेना के जवानों ने सो रहे छह लोगों को मार डाला, मरने वालों में तीन बच्चे और तीन वृद्ध थे, 14 अप्रैल को जहानाबाद अनुमंडल के करची थानान्तर्गत् बुद्धू बिगहा गांव में चार तथा अरवल थाने के जलपुरा गांव में छह व्यक्ति मारे गए, 19 अप्रैल को जहानाबाद अनुमंडल के अरवल में पुलिस की गोलियों से 19 लोग मारे गए, जो सरकार के ब्यान के मुताबिक 21 हैं और फिर उसी तरह से मोकामा के सहरी गांव में जो हुआ है, वहां जाकर जो हमने देखा है, इस में विस्तृत करना चाहता हूं। निरन्तर दो, चार, पांच, छह, सात आठ, नौ, दस, बारह, पन्द्रह लोगों की जिन्दगी के साथ खेला जा रहा है, जैसे बड़े लोग जंगल में शिकार खेलने जाते हैं, आज उसी तरह से बिहार में बड़े लोग अपनी राइफल और बन्दूक से उन गरीबों को जिन्दगी से चिड़िया जैसे शिकार खेलते हैं, जैसे जंगल का चूहा हो, खरगोश हो, चिड़िया हो। आज उनकी जिन्दगी की कोई कीमत नहीं रह गयी है। मैं बिहार सरकार और भारत सरकार से मांग करना चाहता हूं और आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि आज अगर आपकी स्वर्गीय प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जीवित होतीं तो क्या आपका एक भी मिनिस्टर वहां दौड़कर नहीं जाता, वहां आपके कोई मिनिस्टर नहीं जाते, वहां दुखने के लिए नहीं जाते ?, दौड़ के जाते, वहां के घरों में जाते। लेकिन आज आपके दिल में वह दर्द नहीं है, आपके दिल में वह अरमान नहीं है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं, चाहे मुझ पर आरोप लगाएं, मैं बताता हूं बिहार के भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री पंडित जगन्नाथ मिश्र ने केन्द्र सरकार को टेलीग्राम भेजा, ऐसा हमने अखबारों में पढ़ा। अब वह सच है या झूठ यह तो आप बताएं, सरकार बताएगी? लेकिन अखबार में पढ़ा कि बिहार के भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री पंडित जगन्नाथ मिश्र ने केन्द्र सरकार को टेलीग्राम भेजा और सरकार को कहा कि उस समय बिहार में कोई घटना होती थी तो उस समय की प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी स्वयं यहां आ जाती थीं, इसीलिए दिल्ली की सरकार से भी कोई आना चाहिए। हमें याद है सन् 1979 में श्यामसुन्दर दास बिहार में जनता पार्टी के एक हरिजन मंत्री थे, उसी ग्राउण्ड पर आपने उस सरकार को सस्पेण्ड कर दिया था और आरोप लगाया था कि यह सरकार विधि-व्यवस्था बनाए रखने में अक्षम है, यह सरकार कानून को बनाए रखने में अक्षम है और सरकार हरिजनों और पिछड़ों की रक्षा नहीं कर पा रही है, इसलिए सरकार को बरखास्त किया जाये आज नैतिकता का तकाजा क्या कहता है?.. (व्यवधान).. आज आपकी आत्मा क्या कहती है। तो कहिए, केसरी जी, क्या कह सकते हो। केसरी जी, माफ करिएगा, आप कह सकते

हों--हममें कोई दिवभक्ति नहीं है, हम में कोई दिवंधा नहीं है। बिहार सरकार की उस कुर्सी पर पंडित जगन्नाथ मिश्र जी भी थे, उनकी सरकार के जुल्म के खिलाफ भी हम लड़ते थे, अब बिन्देश्वरी जी की सरकार है, उनकी सरकार के जुल्म के खिलाफ भी लड़ेंगे। . . . **(व्यवधान)** . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय महेन्द्र-मोहन मिश्र जी बोल रहे थे। उस समय भी उन्होंने एक जगह जिक्र किया है, तत्कालीन गृहमंत्री को उन्होंने कहा था--आपका क्या विचार है? हरिजनों को आप मरवाना चाहते हैं या हरिजनों को बचवाना चाहते हैं? मुझे अफसोस होता है, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जिस दिन से लगातार जिस राजनीति से संबंधित रहा हूं, डा. लोहिया ने समाजवादी आन्दोलन में हमें जो दीक्षा दी थी, मुझे गर्व है, आज भी लोकसभा की, संसद की प्रोसीडिंग गवाह है कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार में भी जब जनता पर जुल्म होते थे तो हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव अपनी सरकार के भी खिलाफ इसी आवाज में बोलता था। संसद की प्रोसीडिंग इस बात की गवाह है। आज आपके अन्दर से आपकी आत्मा कहां चली गयी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं। देश के सर्वमान्य नेता कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी यहां होते, तो मैं उनसे पूछता--आपकी इस कार्य-वाही में उस दिन तो आपने कहा 7.00 P.M. था, वह आपकी वाणी कहां चली गयी? आज आपकी आत्मा मृतप्राय क्यों हो गई है? इस अन्याय और जुल्म के खिलाफ आपके मुंह में वाणी क्यों नहीं है जो इस प्रोसीडिंग में थी। जूडीशियल इनक्वायरी की बात अलग है। मैं सीधे कहना चाहता हूं कि कांग्रेस पार्टी के ही कार्यकारी अध्यक्ष पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के सेनानी हैं, की अध्यक्षता में संसद की समिति बने, घटनास्थल पर जाकर इनक्वायरी करे। है हिम्मत तो स्वीकार कर लो। हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव गलत नहीं बोलेगा। मेरे दिल में दर्द इसलिए है कि गरीब का बेटा, हरिजन का बेटा, पिछड़े का बेटा अगर आज सामाजिक अन्याय के खिलाफ बोलता है, जमींदार के खिलाफ बोलता है, पूंजीपति के खिलाफ बोलता है तो उसे तथाकथित नक्सलाइट कह कर गोली से मार दिया जाता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि अराजकता के नाम पर पंजाब में अगर दो मरते हैं, चार मरते हैं टेररिस्ट के द्वारा, इतने अखबार में छप जाते हैं, इतने कहे जाते हैं, पंजाब में निरन्तर बिहार से बदतर स्थिति है, महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र ने स्वीकार किया है कि पंजाब से बदतर स्थिति है, पंजाब में दरबारा सिंह को हटा कर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया था, यहां बिन्देश्वरी दुबे को क्यों नहीं हटा रहे हो। **(व्यवधान)** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहूंगा। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहूंगा कि अरवल में जो लोग मारे गए हैं, 21 के नाम आप कह रहे हो, पंडित महेन्द्र मोहन मिश्र जो कागज पढ़ रहे थे वह मेरे पास भी है, बिहार सरकार के जरिए उन लोगों को कागज दिया गया है, जिसमें लिखा है-एडीशनल इनफारमेशन रिगार्डिंग अरवल एटासिटीज। उसमें इन्होंने कहा है 6 हरिजन, 1 मुसलमान, 7 बैकवर्ड जो मारे गए हैं, 7 नाट आइडेंटीफाइड। अभी जो मारे गए उनकी जिन्दगी जिन्दगी नहीं है? जो मुसलमान मारे गए उनकी जिन्दगी की कोई कीमत नहीं है, वे मरने के लिए पैदा हुए हैं, पहले हरिजन 21 मरे थे, अब 6 मरे हैं तो क्या बात है, वह तो मरने के लिए पैदा हुए हैं, उनके लिए हम क्यों रोयेंगे। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से गांधी पुस्तकालय में आम सभा कर रहे थे तो उनकी ओर से प्रोवोकेशन नहीं हुआ था, शांतिपूर्ण सभा हो रही थी, पुलिस जाती है, जैसे जलियांवाला बाग में गोली चला दी गई थी, वैसे ही गोली की बौछार की जाती है, लाश पर लाश गिरा दी जाती है, गरीब भागा है तो खदेड़-खदेड़ कर उसकी हत्या कर दी जाती है, उनके खून से बिहार की मिट्टी को लाल कर दिया जाता है। गांधी जी ने अंग्रेजी राज के खिलाफ बिगुल फूंका था बिहार से, उसी बिहार ने डा. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद को जन्म दिया था, उसी बिहार ने गौतम बुद्ध को जन्म दिया था, जिसने लोकनायक जयप्रकाश को जन्म दिया था, आज उसी बिहार की धरती पर जघन्य अपराध हो रहे हैं और

[श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव]

मनुष्य की जिन्दगी के साथ खिलवाड़ किया जा रहा है जातिय उन्माद पैदा करके सामन्त अपने पैसे पर जातीय सेनाए बना चुके हैं । बिहार के महापुलिस निदेशक ने बयान दिया है कि जो कोई व्यक्तिगत आदमी इन तथाकथित नकसलाइट से लड़ेगा उनको पुलिस सहयोग देगी । स्टेट पावर का इस्तेमाल उन जातीय लोगों को दिया जायेगा । जातीय उन्माद, जातीय दंगा, अराजक स्थिति पैदा करके बिहार को कहां ले जाना चाहते हैं । आपके हाथ में ताकत है, सत्ता है । अपनी सत्ता, अपनी लाठी से तुम मुझे दबा सकते हो, मेरी आवाज दबा सकते हो, इमरजेंसी लगाकर कालकोठरी में बन्द कर सकते हो । लेकिन एक न एक दिन बिहार के वे तनहीन, मनहीन, बलहीन करोड़ों मानव उठेंगे, बिहार की मिट्टी फटेगी और अन्याय करने वाले उसमें जल कर राख हो जाएंगे । मारने वालों को, अफसरों को बर्खास्त करो, यही हमारी मांग है । उन अफसरों को बर्खास्त करो तब हम समझेंगे कि आपके दिल में गरीबों के लिए दर्द है, नहीं तो बिलकुल ढोंग है पाखंड है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now, Mr. Ramanand Yadav.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Ramanand Yadav, you start quoting what you had said at the time of the Belchhi incident. You start quoting from that point

AN HON. MEMBER: I think now it is Yadav versus Yadav!

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Sir, may I request my friend, Shri Ramanand Yadav, to say in the House what he admits in private?

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: I say, you are all vultures. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Yadav, have a look at this volume of debates. It will help you to recollect what you have said earlier. (*Interruptions*).

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आप के हृदय में सचमुच उन मरे हुए लोगों के लिये सहानुभूति नहीं है । आप चाहते हैं राजनीतिक फायदा उठाना उस कांड से ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You only exploit it. Your own Madam, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. exploited it. (*Interruptions*)

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा (उत्तर प्रदेश): राजनीतिक फायदा दूसरे उठा लें तो क्या है आप तो आर्थिक और सामाजिक फायदा उठा रहे हैं इस से ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Shrimati Indira Gandhi exploited the Belchhi incident.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Mr. Yadav, whatever has happened has happened. It is only an academic affair and there is no point now in arguing. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: I would request you to wait.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The devil is going to quote now.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं तो ऐसा समझ रहा हूं कि सचमुच उन गरीबों के प्रति आप के दिल में न तो कोई दुख है, न सिद्धांत के प्रति आप की कोई निष्ठा है कि इस लड़ाई का सही मूल्यांकन आप कर सकें । आप हरिजनों पर एट्रोसिटीज की बात तो करते हैं लेकिन दरअसल बात यह नहीं है । यह भूमि से संबंधित विवाद है । आप ने अपने रेजोल्यूशन में हरिजनों पर एट्रासिटीज की चर्चा की है, लेकिन बात ऐसी नहीं है । लड़ने वाले कौन हैं । किन के बीच में झगड़ा है । एक है रजक-धोबी और दूसरा है साहू । साहू है धनिक, शराब की दुकान करता है। उस का बड़ा भाई उड़ीसा में शराब की दुकान करता है और बहुत बड़ा ठेकेदार है शराब का और यह रजक जैसा कि आप जानते हैं हमारे यहां जो वर्ण व्यवस्था है उस के आधार पर ही सामाजिक अधिकार, राजनीतिक अधिकार और संपत्ति का अधिकार इस देश में

लोगों को प्राप्त है । जो जितनी ऊंची जाति का है उस के पास उतने ही राजनीतिक सामाजिक और संपत्ति के अधिकार हैं । इस बात से आप इन्कार नहीं कर सकते हैं कि सब से ज्यादा संपत्ति किस के पास है । तो मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूं कि आप किस संदर्भ में इस घटना को देखते हैं । इस संदर्भ में देखते तो मुझे खुशी होती। लेकिन आप सब लोगों के हृदय कलुषित हैं। आप चाहते हैं कि चलो एक ऐसा मौका आया जिस से हमारी पार्टी को कुछ लाभ मिलेगा इस लिये आप ऐसी बात करते हैं । **(व्यवधान)** आप जानते हैं कि हमारे हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव बराबर जहां कहो भी कांग्रेस की सरकार होगी उस को बरखास्त करने की मांग करेंगे बिनी सोचे समझे । **(व्यवधान)** और उस मिनिस्टर की पूरी निन्दा करेंगे । आज जब मैं उन के मुंह से सुन रहा था श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र जी की चर्चा तो मुझे वह दिन याद आ रहा था कि उसी जगह बैठ कर वे जगन्नाथ जी की चर्चा करते थे और उन को गाली देते थे और उन के इस्तीफे की मांग करते थे । आज वे उन की बड़ाई कर रहे हैं । न मालूम कब उन के मुख में मिठाई आ जायेगी और न मालूम कब उन के मुख में कड़वाहट आ जायगी । हमारे यहां से जो जायेगा वह तुरन्त उन का हीरो हो जायेगा यह उन की आदत है । मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि ऐसी राजनीति से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा । . . **(व्यवधान)**

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव: आप में से बहुत जगन्नाथ मिश्र की रोटी पर पले हैं । **(व्यवधान)**

श्री रामानन्द यादव : इसी से समझ लीजिए कि कितना इनका स्तर ऊंचा है । कहने लगे कि उन्हीं की रोटी पर हम पले हैं। अपनी व्यक्तिगत बात है नहीं तो मैं आपको इस सदन में लंबा करके छोड़ दूंगा । मुझे मालूम है, आप व्यक्तिगत बातों में मत जाइए नहीं तो मैं ऐसी बात कहूंगा कि आपको लम्बा करके छोड़ दूंगा । . **(व्यवधान)**

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव : मैं तो आपकी पार्टी की बात कह रहा हूं ।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Whom are you defending?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : खुशी की बात है कि आप रिट्रीट कर गए । मैं ऐसा समझता हूं कि दूबे जी ऐसे मुख्य मंत्री हैं जो जाने माने मजदूर नेता हैं और अनेक बार हमारे कम्यूनिस्ट भाई भी उनकी चर्चा करते हैं चाहे सी0 पी0 एम0 हो या दूसरे कि वे निष्ठावान व्यक्ति हैं । क्या आप कह सकते हैं कि कोई भी कांग्रेसमैन इस कांड से खुश है ? हम कुछ एक्शन लेना चाहते हैं । जब भी ऐसी घटनाएं हुई हैं हमने उनके संदर्भ में सोचा लेकिन आप पार्टी के फायदे के लिए करते हैं । यदि भूमि विवाद की बात है तो लैंड सीलिंग करो, हदबंदी करो, लैंड सुधार करो । आज क्या कारण है कि बिहार में ऐसी घटनाएं हो रही हैं क्या आपने कभी सोचा ? शायद आप भूल गए इस बात को कि आप बंगाल से आते हैं । . . . . **(व्यवधान)**

श्री दीपेन घोष : लैंड रिफार्म करना होगा। सबसे ज्यादा लैंड रिफार्म बंगाल में हुए ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You have made a very bad case. You are totally confused today. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Let me have my say. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Your Government—Mr. Siddarth Shankar Ray. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: You are totally mistaken.

श्री रामानन्द यादव: घोष साहब आप भूल गए कि बंगाल के रहने वाले हैं । . .

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: It is a political fight. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: It will take a long time for you. (*Interruptions*) I will teach you, first, parliamentary etiquette.

आप हमको सिखाइए कि क्या करना है ? . . . **(व्यवधान)** आप चुपचाप सुनिए । अगर आप डैमोक्रेट हैं तो आप हमारी बात सुनिये । आप जो कहेंगे वह हम सुनेंगे,

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

सुनते हैं । आप जानते हैं कि जमीन का मामला है । यह समस्या हल कैसे होगी ? कोई भी पार्टी.....

श्री दीपेन घोष : गोली चला कर ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव: मैं यह कह रहा था कि ऐसी समस्याएं बंगाल में भी आईं और जगह भी आईं हैं । एक दल ऐसा बन रहा है जो इसे बढ़ाना चाहता है । क्यों चाहता है? क्योंकि आर्थिक विषमता समाज में है । हम यह मानते हैं कि कांग्रेस के रिजिम में ही होगा, होता है, आपके टाइम में भी होता रहा है और होगा । कल आप आयेंगे तो यह घटनाएं घटेंगी ।

श्री गुरुदास दास गुप्त : कभी नहीं घटेंगी।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Our Chief Minister will not come down to that level. He will not say that the police will help the private landlords. On the contrary, our Chief Minister has declared that the police will be fighting for the peasants, the police will be fighting for the workers and not for the landlords and the employers. (*Interruptions*)

श्री रामानन्द यादव : अगर इस तरह से हरकत करते रहेंगे तो मैं एक दिन भी आपको नहीं बोलने दूंगा । हम यहां पर डेकोरम मेनटेन करने के लिए आए हैं अपनी भावनाओं को रखने के लिए आए हैं । So, there is a visit difference. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Our Government is saying that the police will help the workers.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Police is the paid agent of the landlords in Bihar.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): No interruptions, please. Let the hon. Member speak. Let us hear him.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Let there be a discussion in the proper way. Let there be no accusations or character assassination.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: You are jumping like a monkey.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: On a point of order, Sir. monkey is an unparliamentary word. It should be expunged.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: Sir, I can quote the British Parliament. It is not unparliamentary.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (**श्री सन्तोषकुमार साहू**): बहस में कई बातें हो जाती हैं जिसका असर खराब हो जाता है । डिसेंसी डेकोरम के लिए यह कहना अच्छा नहीं है । आप अपनी बात रखिये ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं यह कह देता हूं कि यह जंगल से अभी-अभी आए हैं । अगर यह कहलाना चाहते हैं कि यह अभी-अभी जंगल से उठ कर आए हैं तो मैं यही कह देता हूं ।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I don't mind because he is recalling his gre t great grandfather.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं यह कह रहा था कि हमें इस संदर्भ में देखना चाहिए कि हमें क्या करना है । दूबे जी हमारे मुख्य मंत्री हैं । वे काफी दुखी हैं, हमारे कांग्रेस जन भी काफी दुख हैं, हमारे यहां के लोग भी काफी दुखी हैं, हमारे कांग्रेस एम पी वहां घटना के दूसरे दिन घूमे.....

श्री दीपेन घोष : किस को लेकर घूमे?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : अकेले गये । उसके बाद आप के लोग गये । आप के लोग बाद में गये मछली पकड़ने के लिए तालाब में ।

श्री दीपेन घोष : आप कहां थे उस रोज?

श्री रामानन्द यादव :मैं यह देखता हूं कि हम को क्या करना है। आज बिहार का ऐसा इशू हो गया है कि नक्सलाइट्स बहुत बढ़ रहे हैं वहां । यह बंगाल से यहां शिफ्ट हो गया है । आज बिहार में यह हालत है कि

कहीं तो भूमि सेना है, कहीं पर संग्राम समिति है, कहीं पर जाति की सेना खड़ी कर दी गई है। जगह जगह पर जातीय सेनाएं बन गई हैं। इनमें धनी और गरीब सभी शामिल हो गयी हैं। कास्ट्स के आधार पर सेनाएं बनायी गई हैं। सब आइडियोलोजी एक तरफ कर दी गई है। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि इनको खत्म करना चाहिए। हमें आज कास्टस के मोर्चे पर लड़ाई लड़नी चाहिए। हमारी केन्द्रीय और बिहार सरकार ने भूमि सुधारों की घोषणा की है। इसलिए सबसे पहले हमें इन भूमि सुधारों को इम्प्लीमेन्ट करना चाहिए। भूमि सुधार ही इस सब को रोकने में कामयाब हो सकते हैं। आप लोग दूबे जी को इस्तीफा देने के लिए कहते हैं। दूबे जी जैसा आदमी जिसने अपनी सारी जिन्दगी मजदूरों के बीच में बिताई है, वे इस काण्ड को देख कर रो दिये। इस घटना को देखकर वे बहुत दुःखी हैं। आप उनसे इस्तीफा देने के लिए कहते हैं? इस जनता पार्टी ने क्या किया है, यह भी आपको बताना चाहता हूं। नवादा हमारे छपरा जिले में है। इनके नेता श्री चन्द्र शेखर जी ने जब पद-यात्रा शुरू की तो गरीब लोग उसमें शामिल नहीं हुए। यह स्थान मेरे घर से चार मील की दूरी पर है। वहां पर पद यात्रा में शामिल न होने के कारण धनिक लोगों ने गरीबों की बस्ती को जला दिया। मैं श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव जी से पूछना चाहता हूं कि आप इसको कंडेम क्यों नहीं करते हैं?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Who prevents you from land reforms? Who prevents you from implementing the land reforms?

श्री सीताराम केसरी : श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव कहां चले गये हैं? वे भाग गये हैं।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : वहां पर गरीबों की बस्ती जला दी गई। इसलिए सबसे पहला काम लैण्ड रिफार्म का किया जाना चाहिए। दूसरा काम मैं समझता हूं कि यह किया जाना चाहिए कि बिहार में जाति के आधार पर जो सेनाएं खड़ी की गई हैं उनको खत्म करना चाहिए। आप तो यहां पर पौलिटिक्ल फिशिंग करना चाहते हैं, पौलिटिकल गेन प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं। आप कास्ट के आधार पर जो सेनाएं बनाई जाती हैं उन पर बैन कीजिये। तीसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जितनी भी पौलिटिक्ल पार्टियां हैं, चाहे वे वामपंथी हों या राइटिस्ट्स हों उनको ऐसी संस्थाओं से दूर रहना चाहिए। अभी तो बिहार में यह हालत हो गई है कि धनी जमींदार भी इन संस्थाओं को जोयन करने लगे हैं। भरत साहू ने यही किया है। वे डर के मारे इन संस्थाओं में शामिल होने लगे हैं। हमारे बिहार में एक सिस्टम है-खिजमती। इसमें जमींदार लोगों को कुछ जमीन दे देता है। जो उसकी हजामत बनाता है, जो कपड़ा सीता है या खेत में काम करता है, उसको जमींदार जमीन दे देता है। इसी को खिजमती सिस्टम कहते हैं। उसी के तहत इस रजक को जमीन दी गई है और उस जमीन का बन्दोबस्त किया गया था। अंत में जाकर सरकार ने किया। लेकिन मैं इसको नहीं मानता कि सरकार को यह नहीं करना चाहिए था। सरकार ने राइट किया क्योंकि कानून कानून है। जिसके पास कम जमीन है उसको और जमीन मिले। जिसके पास जमीन नहीं है, जो भूमिहीन है पहले उसको दो और जिसके पास कम जमीन है फिर उसको दो। उसके बाद जो नीची जाति के हैं या गरीब मुसलमान हैं इन सब को दो। लेकिन भूमिहीन को सबसे पहले दो।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Why are you not implementing that?

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: When Mr. M. M. Prasad was Chief Minister, in my State, the leftist parties were ... *(Interruptions)*. They never thought of implementing it.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What is the use of talking from housetops when you are running the Government here and you are running the Government there. Who is preventing you from doing that?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संतोष कुमार साहू) : रामानन्द जी आप बोलिये, आज करते रहेंगे तो बहस 9 बजे तक चलेगी। आप अपनी बात कहें।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : बांधो हिज गला विद रस्सी एंड कन्ट्रोल हिम ।

तो मैं आपसे यही निवेदन करूंगा कि भूमि सुधार डिपार्टमेन्ट जो स्टेट गवर्नमेन्ट का है उसमें कमिटेड लोगों को ही ऊंचा ओहदों पर, ऊंची जगहों पर रखना चाहिए ताकि वह भूमि सुधार का जो कानून है उसको ठीक से इम्प्लीमेंट कर सकें ।

अंत में मैं आपसे अपील करूंगा, लेफ्टिस्ट पार्टीज से कि आप अपने सीने पर हाथ रखकर सोचें कि जब किसी का बेटा मारा जाता है तो आप भी दुखी होते हैं । जो 21 आदमी मारे गये हैं उनका हमें भी दुख है जैसा कि आपको है । हमें आपसे कम नहीं है । हमारे कांग्रेस जन भी उसी तरह से दुखी है । सबसे पहले वहां कांग्रेस के एम. पी. गये ।

श्री दीपेन घोष : हमारा एम. पी. नहीं, हमारे आदमी है ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : आपको मालूम नहीं..(**व्यवधान**)..

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: The C.P.I. M. P. had gone there much before. You are misleading the House.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : तो मैं इनसे कहूंगा कि केवल एक तरफा बात हम लोगों को नहीं सोचनी चाहिए । आज जो स्थिति देश में पैदा हो रही है, उस स्थिति को रोकने के लिये कुछ सोशली हमको स्टेप लेने होंगे । अगर हम यह नहीं करेंगे, अगर यह हम नहीं कर सके तो चाहे बंगाल हो, बिहार हो, उड़ीसा हो कहीं भी हम इस पर काबू नहीं पा सकेंगे । इसलिये यहां पर जो विरोधी दल के लोग हैं, हमारे मित्र हैं उनसे मैं अपील करना चाहूंगा कि इस तरह की पोलिटिकल हैपेनिंग्स देश की समाजवादी व्यवस्था के हित में, गरीबों के हित में और देश के कल्याण के हित में नहीं है । पार्टीजन वे आपको मालूम है कि रोहतास जिले में 250 भूमिपति मारे गये और 300 गरीब नौजवान मारे गये । क्या आप चाहते हैं कि इस तरह की घटना घटे ? कोई भी भला आदमी ऐसा नहीं चाहेगा । एक तरफ गरीब तबके के लोग और दूसरी तरफ धनी तबके के लोग और इस तरह से क्या आप चाहते है कि देश में सिविल वार हो । कोई नहीं चाहेगा ? मुझे यकीन नहीं है कि कभी भी कोई चाहेगा । इस तरह की हालत पर रोक लगाने के लिये हम सब को मिल बैठकर सोचना चाहिए कि कैसे इस पर रोक लगायें। श्री बिंदेश्वरी दुबे के त्यागपत्र देने से यह समस्या हल नहीं होगा । उनका त्यागपत्र मांगना हुकमदेव नारायण यादव जी के लिये इजी है लेकिन शायद वे जानते नहीं है कि बिंदेश्वरी दूबे एक कमिटेड सोशलिस्ट है (**व्यवधान**) ...मैं आपसे यह कह रहा था कि हमको और आपको सोचने की आवश्यकता है और इससे पोलिटिकल फायदा उठाने की कोशिश नहीं करनी चाहिए । बिंदेश्वरी दूबे को रहना चाहिए (**व्यवधान**) अब तो जगन्नाथ मिश्रा प्यारे हो जाएंगे । (**व्यवधान**) जैसे पंडित जी गुजरात के हो गये (**व्यवधान**) हमारे यहां से निकल कर स्पीकर साहब तो चीफ मिनिस्टर हो गये, बंगाल में संविद सरकार के समय स्पीकर थे निकल कर गये तो आप चीफ मिनिस्टर बना दिये । मैं अपने इन विरोधी भाइयों से अपील करूंगा कि इस तरह की घटनाओं से राजनैतिक लाभ उठाने की चेष्ठा नहीं करनी चाहिए । समाज में किस तरह से व्यवस्था ठीक रहे आप और हम कानून बना कर कानून व्यवस्था के द्वारा इस सदन के माध्यम से सामाजिक परिवर्तन करना चाहते है इसकी प्रतिष्ठा को मददे नजर रखते हुए ही कुछ करें तो ज्यादा अच्छा है । इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं ।

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, boisterous laughs unkindest cuts and uncharitable reckless remarks sometimes go to prove that Harijans in this country receive a raw deal everywhere and it is quite shocking that even in the highest democratic forum they receive a raw deal.

At the very outset, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether Bihar is a State in India or it is an independent nation because daily we

receive reports from the press that there are armies and I would like to have a categorical reply from the hon. Minister whether they are going to curb this kind of army and whether they are going to have any curb on this kind of recruitment to the army.

What has happened in Bihar is nothing short of a dastardly act of State terrorism. It is infernal massacre; it is total conflagration. These happeaings in Bihar are comparable only to the colossal terminations of Red Indians in the South of U.S. centuries back.

I would like to remind the hon. Minister that individual terrorism has a penal code, the State terrorism has got Constitutional protection. Of late, I find a kind of consistent departure from the line of operation that we have witnessed earlier in Bihar. Earlier in Bihar and ellsewhere, whenever you find that injustice was perpetrated on the Harijans, it was by the landlords against the landless Harijans and again it was police atrocities on the farmless people in Bihar. Now there is a departure wherein we find a kind of shameless collusion between the State machinery and the landlords and bhoomidars in places like Bihar. If we look into the records of both the Houses of Parliament in the last 30 years, on so many occasions even a debate or a discussion on the atrocities on Harijans has been withheld and has not been permitted even. But today, I am happy, in the recent past, at least discussions in this House—because this seems to be the ventilating Chamber—are being allowed. Thanks to the Chairman. This seems to be a kind of charitable grant of the Chairman. But when we see that this highest forum of the House, democratic institution, discusses atrocities on Harijans at the fag end of the day, I would say, Harijans have been relegated to the oblivion not only in the national mainstream but even in this highest forum of the country.

I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to the fact that in 1982 a total of 557 Harijan women had been raped in the country. This is not my finding; this is an answer to Unstarred Question in the Lok Sabha. Again, 487 Harijans had been murdered and 1356 had been grievously hurt. The maximum number of rapes took place in U.P. and

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri M. P. Kaushik) in the Chair]

the number was 152. In Madhya Pradesh, it was 133. In Bihar, it was 77. In Rajasthan, it was 58. I am not quoting the other States because the same reply say that in six other southern States, it was one each. Incidents of crimes against Harijans are definitely on the increase. whenever, Harijans are attacked, there is police inaction. But whenever there is police action, positive action it is against the Harijans. This is a criminal and piquant situation in whch we find ourselves today. The police psychology has not changed. Even after so many years of our Independence, I do not find any change in the police psychology. For the last 35—40 years, there is no change, there is no bold departure. even in regard to the training of the police personnel, we attach more importance to the physical prowess of the police, than to the mental attributes and character.

It is a very painful and revealing thing that the police constabulary which is being drafted from the lowest of the low, the lowest rung of the society in the social milieu, undergoes a very radical change in its class character and they go and use their lathis, they use their bullets against the same class of people because they are part of the power. The police training has not undergone any kind of a radical change in consonance with the changing times. I remember an occasion, I was a student of the Law College in Madras. I was a student leader, I was asked to tender evidence before the Police Commission headed by Shri G. Parthasarthy in 1972. He asked me a pertinent question. He quoted the statement of the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi who said "police are the friends of the law abiding people. but they are the enemies of criminals'. He asked me

[Shri Valampuri John]

Would you agree with this?' I remember, I told him, 'I agree with the first part of the statement; I cannot disagree at all, but I cannot agree with the second part of the statement' because it is a different postulate on a shifting sand. Why? Police may be the friends of the law-abiding people. But police can never in this country be the enemies of criminals. They can be enemies of crime but not of criminals because criminals are, after all, social by-products. It is circumstance which makes a person a criminal. Sin is different from a sinner. Crime is different from a criminal. When this kind of knowledge of jurisprudence, when this kind of management of police in developing countries has undergone a radical and vast change, why no tangible action has been taken in this country to change the psychology of the police. This is unfortunate.

Here, I would like to make only three suggestions. Until and unless Government takes long-term measures, I do not thing they car contain this kind of inhuman atrocities on Harijans. The first thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government is that the States which have not set up special courts for trying cases of atrocities and crimes against Harijans, should come forward and set up special courts. Here I would like to drive home the truth that Tamil Nadu is one of the first Governments in the country which has gone in for the formation of special courts to try the offenders against Harijans. This was done in the year 1983. Secondly, the question of land should be settled once and for all. This question should be settled. For whom, to whom the land belongs? Is it to the one who possesses it or to one who has been deprived of it? Bihar is the only unfortunate State in the whole country wherein we find that there is a legacy of permanent settlement introduced in 1793 by Cornwallis. No land reform worth the name has been taken up in Bihar and that is why all these problems have cropped up. Thirly, any religion that not only accepts caste hierarchy but which justifies internal divisions simmering into group violence has a potential for promoting fatalism. Fatalism has very high shoulders on which sits the nations' ethos committed to *status quo*. The caste system in Bihar and elsewhere is only a manifestation of the simmering disensions in a society like ours. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, you have to be charitable. For others, you have allowed fifteen-twenty minutes. Why this discrimination?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): Please sit down.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: I will not sit down. This is uncharitable.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): Please listen to me. There are seven or eight speakers more.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: Let there be. You have to be charitable. You have allowed other speakers fifteen-twenty minutes. Why are you not allowing me? This is not the fist time that you are doing this. Let there be hundred speakers, let, there be thousand speakers. Why have two different standards (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): Please sit down. I am on my legs, please sit down. There are 7 to 8 speakers still and the time allotted is two hours and thirty minutes. I will request the hon. Members not to take more than five to six minutes each. I would like to give enough time to the Minister to reply and if this is done, as the time stand at the present moment, it will take more than three hours. (*Interruptions*) I am sorry, I have got to tell you very frankly that the Members must cooperate. They should complete whatever they have to say within five to six minutes each.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: I do agree with you but my submission is that you should have used the same yardstick for all. Why different yardstick for me? This is the biased attitude, this is sermonising.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Others have been allowed to take more than 20 to 25 minutes He has taken only five to six minutes and he is saying such good things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK) He has already taken ten minutes.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: Why are you partial to me only? For others you have allowed more time. What is the valid reason for you to ask me to sit down? (*Interruptions*). I do accept what you are saying. I am going to wind up, but why in my case alone?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): It is in the case of all. (*Interruptions*). I am sorry, I cannot help it.

SHRI VALAMPURI JOHN: I do accept that there is limited time, but why a different yardstick you are using for me I cannot understand. I am winding. I have taken it as an insult and I am going to take it up.

Sir George Birdwood has averred, "So long as the Hindus hold to the caste system India will be India; but from the days they break from it, there will be no more India. That glorious peninsula will be degraded to the position of a bitter 'East End' of the Anglo-Saxon Empire." When he said it, he said it with all the venom. It was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who retorded, "with caste or without it we have long been degraded to that position in the British Empire." But I do not find the same kind of blowing spirit today in the power wheels. As long as there a religious sanction for the caste system in Hinduism, you cannot stop this kind of a mass killing, mass carnage in Bihar or elsewhere. Sir, in Karamchedu in Andhra Pradesh in the last December, 1985 when there was a kind of a killing of a lesser magnitude Shrimati Ram Dulari Sinha visited the particular place and said that this Telugu Desam Government had no justification to remain in power. Now I would like to ask Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, when she said that there was no moral justification for Telugu Desam Government to continue in power for a crime of leser magnitude than this, what has he got to say about this today. Again you are having double standards.

I would like to add that there is enough anger amongst the Harijans but that anger is divided among the Harijans, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes because of the geographical limitations. of the different linguistic States, because of the economic compulsions, because of the political reasons and that is why your institutions, your establishments and your Government is safe. But I warn this Government that a day will come when they will extricate themselves from the morasse when all the institutions that you have been nurturing from the days of Mahatmaji and Jawaharlal Nehru, will go down, because enough anger is there but only because the anger is divided that you are safe.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Shri Mahendra Prasad. Please be careful about time.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD (Bihar): Sir, I come from the area where atrocities have taken place and therefore, I may be made an exception to this rule.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there was a swan with two mouths. The swan chanced to get a sweet fruit and ate it merrily with only one and the same mouth. The second mouth got jealous of the fruit-eating first mouth and out of anger ate poison to teach the swan and the first mouth a lesson. The swan died because of the poison eating of the second mouth and with the death of the swan died both the mouths, including the one which could not get the fruit and ate the poison. The other day I saw some honey in a plate at one of my friend's house. So many greedy flies came to eat the honey and in the process got themselves entangled in the sticky honey and died. The flies did not deserve the honey because they had not worked hard for the honey.

[Shri Mahendra Prasad]

Sir, the jealousy of the Opposition parties against the party in power is forcing them to commit suicide. Their greed to come to power by any means, fair or foul, is making them entangled in a tricky cobweb of death, to extricate from which will be an impossibility. Their unseemly haste and hunger to come to power by hook or by crook are making them unhesitant in swallowing even deadly poisonous snakes and scorpions. The magic of power is too captivating for them to distinguish good from evil and holy from unholy. Our friends in the Opposition, in their anxiety to come to power, are prepared to hug even willy wolves.

Sir, I pity my friends on the Opposition benches on their lack of knowledge of the incident in discussion and the area in which this unfortunate but inevitable incident has occurred. Sir, at this juncture I am reminded of the holy words of Jesus Christ at the time of His Crucification. He prayed to God in defence of His perspecutors and said: "Lord, forgive them; for they know not what they are doing". Our friends in the Opposition do not know what crime they are doing against democracy, civilization, orderly existence of our society and against themselves, the values they proclaim to cherish, by condemning the police firing at Arwal and thus supporting extremism and forcible and violent take-over of administration by mentally and ideologically deranged and anti-social criminal elements

Sir, if there is only one action during the last over nine years, the years which have seen both the Congress and the Janata Governments, for which the Government of Bihar should be praised and appreciated, it is the action under discussion in this House in which several extremists and anti-social criminals were killed in police firing at Arwal in Gaya district of Bihar. If the history of the struggle to save democracy and the history of finding solution of a problem through democracy and the history of finding solution of a problem through democratic and constitutional means is written in future, the incident of Arwal will be and should be written in silver letters if not in golden letters. Had there been no action such as has been taken at Arwal, or if similar actions are not taken in future to meet similar situations and to retaliate lawlessness and state of "no government" in the extremist-affected or the socalled Naxal-affected areas of Bihar, tomorrow will show that there is no government in Bihar. During the last few years there is hardly any government functioning in the Naxal-affected areas of Bihar, especially in Gaya, Aurangabad, Bhojpur, Nalanda, and Patna districts and more especially in Jehanabad sub-division of Bihar. There are several Senas functioning in these areas. In such a situation there can be either only a Government Sena or the other Sena. There cannot be a co-existence of the two Senas. A government is worth no name if it succumbs and surrenders and allows the existence of Senas other than its own Sena or force. A government has got no legitimate or moral right to rule if it fails to protect the life and property of its citizens from barbaric, anti-national and violent criminal forces.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please conclude your speech now.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD: Sir, what is happening in the Naxal-affected areas of Bihar is negating the government and their right to governance. A Government worth its name should be ashamed if it allows the sordid acts that have been happening in the Naxal-affected areas of Bihar. (*Time bell rings*) It is beyond words to describe the pathetic plight of the people of that area. It is unbelievable. (*Time bell rings*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): The hon. Member is requested to resume his seat.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD: I am just concluding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Mr. Radhakrishna. I have called the next speaker. Now you please take your seat.

SHRI MAHENDRA PRASAD: The extremist organizations, by whatsoever name they are known, are indulging in the worst type of terrorism and crime. (*Time bell rings*). They are indulging in wanton murders .. just two minutes, Sir... brutal killings, robberies, dacoities, blackmail, rape...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Nothing will go on record. Please sit down.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset I agree with my friend, Mr. John, that we do not find that emotion, that seriousness and that spirit with which we should have debated this heart-burning incident in Bihar. Mr. John has also referred to the Karamchedu issue in Andhra Pradesh.

Sir, last year there was an incident in Karamchedu village in which some caste Hindus haras ed Harijans, attacked Harijans and killed some Harijans. Also there was some damage to properties of Harijans. But, on receiving the information, our Chief Minister, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, had gone to the spot and immediately ordered a judicial inquiry into the matter. He had ordered for the immediate arrest and prosecution of the offenders. He had a'so arranged for all types of relief works for the victims there. But here in Bihar it is totally absent. With a great burden of heart and pain I have to say that some friends have no pain for this inhuman and barbaric incident; they have no sympathy for the victims there. They are humorously talking about it.

Sir, this incident is an altogether different thing. Of course, such incidents have become the order of the day. Nowadays there is not a single day on which we do not hear of harassment of Harijans, Girijans and some other poor people somewhere in the country. But this Bihar issue is an altogether different thing. I don't find any Government functioning there. I do not know whether there is any Government there established under the Constitution of India. I do not think there is any Government properly functioning there for the people, elected by the people. I came to know that there are a number of Senas operating in Bihar State, namely, Lorik Sena, Bhoomi Sena, Kuer Sena, Brahmarshi Sena, Azad Sena, Srikrishna Sena, Samajwadi Krantikari Sena, Shoshit Samajwadi Sena, Dalit Sena, Lal Sena, etc. Among these, two Senas, namely, Lorik Sena and Bhoomi Sena, are defending and working for the landlords. They are going hand in hand with Government administration. They are patronized by the politicians, rulers of that State. Sir, they are given gun licences, they are provided with police protection and police collaboration. The police and the private armies are going hand in hand and harassing and killing poor people, mostly Harijans, Girijans and Adivasis.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Raping women.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Sir, there is another thing. I need not give the statistics, but there is much surplus Government land there in the State and, if not the entire land, at least 90 per cent of it is encroached upon by the landlords and for the protection of their encroachments they have been maintaining these private armies. The Government is not coming forward to evict the encroachments and distribute the land to the landless poor in the State. These private armies are not only protecting the properties of the landlords—these feudals —but they are also creating and fomenting communal sentiments there. They are working up communal sentiments and communal violence is also taking place there.

There are six districts in Bihar, namely, Patna, Bhojpur, Rohtas, Gaya, Nalanda and Aurangabad. declared as disturbed areas. They declared these areas as disturbed areas only to kill Harijans there, only to kill the poor people there, those who raise their voice against the oppression and suppression by the feudals. Otherwise, what is the fun of giving gun licences to landlords and their agents and what is the fun of allowing recruitment

[Shri Puttapaga Radhakrishna]

and maintenance of these private armies? In these disturbed areas anybody whom they want to kill they will kill and afterwards call them as Naxalites. What is Naxalism? We know what is Naxalism, where it did come from.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): please conclude.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Let me speak, Sir. What is there? I will take only two more minutes.

We do not know how many people were killed in this particular incident. The S. P. of Jahanabad himself has declared that 20 people were killed there. And some voluntary organisations have declared that a hundred people were killed. The former Chief Minister, Dr. Jagannath Mishra himself, it has appeared in the press, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister stating that seventy persons were murdered in the incident. Anyhow, it may be 70,100 or 20, whatever it may be, it is a big number of persons who were killed by the police. The incident, the harassment was sponsored by the Government. It was not a clash between one community and another. It was Government sponsored. The Government sponsored the police to kill the Harijans to put down the workers there. These offenders, these feudals will have to pay for this. Sir, I am sure that one day or the other...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please take your seat.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Only one minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): No please.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: I am sure, one day what Karl Marx..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): He will not go on record. Please sit down.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA:*

*Not recorded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Dr. Kailash Pati Mishra. I will not be able to give you more time. Please be careful.

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसी राज्य से आने की कारण...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): I cannot help you. The Opposition has already taken more time than allotted to them.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Today you are in a very serious mood.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): I cannot help it. Everybody has to go. The time allotted is only two-and-a-half hours. Practically two hours are over.

Please take six minutes and conclude. Six speakers plus the Minister are there. I cannot help it. Only three persons have spoken from the Treasury Benches. The rest of the speakers have been from the Opposition side.

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : मैंने बोलना ही शुरू नहीं किया, आपस में चर्चा हो तो मैं बोलूं कैसे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम. पी. कौशिक) : 6 मिनट दूंगा, नो इन्टरप्शन ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम. पी. कौशिक): एक बात कहना चाहता हूं, एक हरिजन का खून गिरे, एक किसान का खून गिरे, एक विद्यार्थी का खून गिरे, एक प्रोफेसर की हत्या हो तो यह मानकर चलना चाहिए कि हर खून भारतमाता के आंचल को कलंकित करने वाला खून है । दुर्भाग्य है कि आज जो अवस्था बिहार में पैदा हो गई है हम उसके इलाज की ज्यादा चिन्ता नहीं कर रहे हैं । अरवल की घटनी कई मित्रों ने बताई, मैं उसका विवरण नहीं देना चाहता । एक साथ कितनी घटनाएं हो गई हैं, किसी घटना पर पर्दा नहीं डाला जा सकता । अरवल में घटना घटी, पटना जिले के नौबतपुर प्रखंड के डेरापर गांव में घटी, छपरा जिले के नवादा में घटना घटी । इसके साथ ही यह

बताना चाहता हूं कि जिस अनुमंडल, सब डिवीजन की यह घटना है उसके सबडिवीजनल हास्पिटल की दो साल की पोस्टमार्टम रिपोर्ट देख लीजिए। एक साल की रिपोर्ट मैंने देखी, 395 हत्याओं का पोस्टमार्टम उस छोटे से सबडिवीजन में हुआ था। महोदय, मैं इसे दलगत सीमा में नहीं बांधना चाहता, कोई आक्षेप भी नहीं लगाना चाहता। लेकिन सरकार को साहस करके एक रिपोर्ट के साथ आना होगा कि उस राज्य में काम करने वाली सरकार कितनी सक्षम है, कितनी इस परिस्थिति को संभालने में कामयाब है। एक-दो हत्याओं के बाद जूडीशियल इन्क्वायरी कमीशन बैठ जाता है। जहां इतनी हत्याएं हो गई हैं-- मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि एक महीने के अन्दर बिहार में सौ से ऊपर हत्याएं हुई हैं, मैं किसी के ऊपर आरोप नहीं लगाना चाहता कि उन्होंने हत्याएं की, उन्होंने की, पुलिस ने कर दी, हरिजन ने कर दी, बड़े ने कर दी, छोटे ने कर दी, सब की हत्याएं हो रही हैं, हरिजन की हत्या हो रही है, दूकानदार की हत्या हो रही है, कालेज के अन्दर विद्यार्थी और प्रोफेसर की हत्या हो रही है। सड़क 8.00 P.M. पर चलने वाले नागरिक की हत्या हो रही है। मैं सरकार से एक ही मांग करता हूं और उस के बाद अपना भाषण समाप्त करूंगा कि आप अरवल से ले कर, खास कर अरवल और उस के साथ-साथ एक महीने के अन्दर बिहार में जितनी घटनायें घटी हैं आप उस के लिये हाई कोर्ट या सुप्रीम कोर्ट के एक जज नहीं, बल्कि जजों का एक पैनल बिठाइये और जुडिशियल इंक्वायरी कराइये। इस की आप घोषणा करिये और फिर उन्हें समाप्त शास्त्रियों से संबद्ध करिये और राज्य सरकार से तो नहीं हो सकेगा, केन्द्रीय सरकार इस दायित्व को ले और वहां भूमि की सीलिंग नहीं हुई है, उचित भूमि वितरण नहीं हुआ है और अराजकता निर्माण करने के लिये दर्जनों सेनाएं वहां पैदा हो गयी हैं। ऐसी सेनाओं को सामाजिक इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती। कोई ऐसी सेना हाथ में हथियार ले कर जिस की चाहे हत्या कर दे इस की इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती, चाहे फिर वह सेना दलों की हो या छोटों की हो या राजपूतों की हो या हरिजनों की हो या यादवों की हो या भूमिहारों की हो या राजपूतों की हो। तो इन सेनाओं को देशद्रोही की संज्ञा दे कर उन पर प्रतिबंध लगाया जाना चाहिए और उन को जड़मूल से सफाया करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। आज बिहार को तोड़ने की कोशिश हो रही है। साढ़े सात करोड़ का बिहार अगर टूट गया तो मैं पहले भी कह चुका हूं और दोहराना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन यह भारत के लिये संकट खड़ा हो रहा है, देश के लिये संकट खड़ा हो रहा है। गरीबी से ग्रस्त बिहार आज परेशान है। वहां भूमिहीन परेशान है, वहां हरिजन परेशान है, वहां के किसान भी उतने ही परेशान है। उस की भी कमर टूट गयी है। काम करने वाले कार्यकर्ता परेशान हैं, कर्मचारी परेशान हैं और हर तरफ भुखमरी दिखायी दे रही है। इन सब समस्याओं को सिमेट कर जुडिशियल इंक्वायरी हो और जो निर्णय दिखायी देता है उस को लागू कीजिए। मुझे याद है-नाम लूंगा तो हंगामा हो जायेगा, राजस्थान सरकार ने एक ही साथ जज को ले कर, एक्जीक्यूटिव अफसर को ले कर, इंजीनियरिंग अफसर को लेकर वकील को ले कर 6 महीने के अंदर 90 प्रतिशत खेतों की सीलिंग करा दी हदबंदी करा दी और हर छोटे स्तर तक के किसान के खेत तय करा दिये। आज बिहार को इस की आवश्यकता है। अभी तक लैंड सीलिंग वहां लागू नहीं हुई है। दस प्रतिशत हदबंदी भी नहीं हुई है और परिणाम यह है कि पैसे की डवांडोल अलग होती है, आदमियों का हैरेसमेंट अलग होता है और कदम कदम पर अराजकता की स्थिति पैदा हो रही है। आप उन हत्याओं की जांच कराइये और भयभीत मत होइये। मांद मत खोदिये और फिर जो निदान आवश्यक दिखाई देता है आप हिम्मत के साथ उस को अपनाइये। बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री को आप सिर पर रखें, कंधे पर रखें, जेब में रखें या नाक पर रखें, जो चाहें सो करें, लेकिन आज का वहां का मंत्रिमंडल बिहार को बर्बाद कर रहा है। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यह मामला बिहार तक ही सीमित नहीं है। बिहार में हो रहा नर संहार, वहां की अराजकता की स्थिति से आज सारा बिहार बिहार जल रहा है। आज थोड़ी सी प्रसन्नता है कि कम से कम बिहार आज समान रूप से यहां लोगों के मानसपटल पर दिखाई पड़ा और लोगों ने समझा कि बिहार आज संकट में फंसा पड़ा है।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : माननीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने दोनों ओर की बातों को सुना । मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूं कि :

हम आह भी भरते हैं तो हो जाते हैं बदनाम,
वह कत्ल भी करते हैं तो चर्चा नहीं होता ।

आज हालत क्या है । अरवल में 50 आदमी कम से कम जान से मार दिये गये । किसने मारा, कौन मरा । गौर करिये । पटना जिले में पुलिस ने जमींदारों की शह पर 2 आदमियों को गोली से उडा दिया । छपरा जिले में नवादा गांव में, भाई रामानंद जी कह रहे थे, खैर मैं तो उत्तर प्रदेश का हूं लेकिन बार्डर पर हूं, केवल चार मील का अंतर है । तो मान्यवर, वहां पर एक वर्ग के लोगों पर दूसरे वर्ग के जो कि उंची जाति की कहे जाते हैं, होली के दिन उनको मारा, शील भंग किया और गांव को जला दिया । एक सरकार जो कि घोषित सरकार है उसने अरवल में किया, सहरसा, पटना में किया और दूसरी सरकार जो जिसको आप संविधान में मान्यता नहीं देते हैं, उसने नवादा में किया ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह कौन है ?

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : वह सेना है, मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूं । उसी सरकार ने बिहार जैतपरा में, हरिजनों का बनारस जिले में सिकरौरा में 7 आदमियों के एक परिवार की हत्या की । बात बहुत बढ़ जाएगी यदि मैं नाम लूंगा तो, लेकिन केसरी जी समझेंगे —

सात पांच लइका एक संतोष ।
गदहा मरले तनिको न दोष ।।

जितना आप सफाई दीजिए, पुलिस मनोबल के नाम पर, लेकिन यही खतरनाक हुआ पुलिस मनोबल बढ़ाने का कि उसने सरज बाबू की हत्या की, जगदेव प्रसाद की हत्या की और उसी पुलिस ने प्रधान मंत्री की हत्या की, केसरी जी आप भी नहीं छूटेंगे, यह मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूं ।

आज दो शब्द चल रहे हैं---माफिया और नक्सलाइट । माफिया कौन है ? जो खुद लोकदल में है, उसका बड़ा भाई कांग्रेस में है, उसका मामा कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी में है, बहन भारतीय जनता पार्टी में है, साले का साला अन्य किसी पार्टी में है । यानि जिस पार्टी की गवर्नमेंट बनेगी, उन्हीं की होगी, काम उन्हीं का होगा । उसी जाति के अफसर, उसी के एम. एल. ए., उसी के मंत्री हैं । दिन दहाड़े अपराध करके खुले-आम जो घूमते हैं वे माफिया गिरोह के हैं। जो नाती पोते सहित सत्ता प्रतिष्ठान से वंचित हैं, जिनका न थानेदार है, न एम. एल.ए. है, न मंत्री है, वे नक्सलाइट हैं। ये मारेंगे, मरवायेंगे, बदला लेंगे, जवाब देंगे तो थानेदार उनको मुलजिम बना देंगे और वे नक्सलाइट हो जाएंगे । ऐसा मत समझिए, मैं तो कहता हूं कि अगर आप ईमानदार हैं तो इस नपुंसक सरकार को उखाड़ फेंकिए । जितने हथियार लोहार बना सकता हो उनको बनाना, रखना फ्री कर दो, कल से देखो कि एक भी हरिजन बस्ती नहीं फूंकी जाएगी । आप समय देते तो इसकी व्याख्या कर देता, लेकिन आप घंटी बजा देंगे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम. पी. कौशिक): घड़ी नहीं रुकती, मैं क्या करूं ?

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : अभी राजा साहब बोल रहे थे मैं क्या कहूं ? पुलिस को डिफेंड करना ही है तो आप भी कहेंगे कि—कुछ मसलन, कुछ मजबूरन, कातिल को मसीहा कहते हैं । मुझे एक शेर याद आ रहा है —

अमर शहीदों की करनी पर चाहे जो भी
मौज उड़ा ले,
मृगनयनी को बगल में बिठाकर चाहे
नैनीताल घुमा ले ।

गरीबों का नाम लेना आसान है लेकिन गरीबों पर क्या बीत रही है, उसको आप नहीं समझते, बचपन में समझते होंगे । सिंधी जी भी समझते होंगे क्योंकि वह भी

गरीब घर से आते हैं । लेकिन जब हम यहां आते हैं तो कसम गरीबों की खाते हैं--

कौमी लीडर डिनर खाते हैं हुक्कामों के साथ,
और रंज लीडर को बहुत है मगर आराम के साथ ।

जब तक गरीबों को आप हर जगह बैठाएंगे नहीं, कानून का कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है । कानून का कोई अर्थ नहीं होता । जो लागू करता है उसी के मन के मुताबिक अर्थ देता है । ये लोग गद्दी पर हैं हम को जेल भेज देते हैं । हम गद्दी पर आते हैं तो इन्दिरा जी को जेल भेज देते हैं। गद्दी पर जो बैठता है उसी के मन के मुताबिक कानून अर्थ देता है । ये जो गरीब के दुश्मन हैं थानेदार, क्लेक्टर या दूसरे बड़े आदमी हैं ये सब जगह बैठे हुए हैं । ये अपने मन के मुताबिक कानून की व्याख्या करते हैं । और अपने मन के मुताबिक व्याख्या करके गरीबों को मार रहे हैं । अगर आप ईमानदार हैं तो मंडल कमीशन की रिपोर्ट लागू करिए । हरिजनों का कोटा पूरा कीजिए, उनको उनकी जगहों पर बैठा दीजिए ताकि उनके मन के मुताबिक कानून का अर्थ लग सके । अभी कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी की बात चल रही थी । कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी ने गरीबों के लिए कानून का अलग अर्थ लगाया । हर एक गरीब का लड़का गुंडा कहलाता है । मेरे जैसा आदमी, जब किसी गरीब आदमी को, पिछड़े वर्ग को, हरिजन को सामंत आदमी गुंडा कहता है तो गौरवान्वित होता है । यह उनका हक है । उनको उजाड़ फेंकना इनका जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है । अगर हम यह बात कहें तो हम अशिष्ट हैं । सामाजिक क्रांति का बिगुल जब तक नहीं बजेगा तब तक आप कुछ नहीं कर सकते । आप देखते हैं बिहार को अखबार में कोई स्थान नहीं मिलता क्योंकि वहां पिछड़ा वर्ग मरता है, गरीब लोग मरते हैं, मजदूर लोग मरते हैं, मुसलमान लोग मरते हैं । वहां पर लोग मारे जा रहे हैं । इनका कहीं कोई जिक्र नहीं होता । इन गरीबों की कोई बात चन्द शब्दों के साथ मैं यह आशा करूंगा कि ये जो पुराने लोग हैं जिन को अभी भी इस देश में कुछ लज्जा है, शर्म है और जो गांधी के नेतृत्व में कसम खाने में विश्वास रखते हैं वे इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करेंगे और नहीं तो हथियार सब के लिए फ्री कर दीजिए । लोहार का हथियार फ्री कर दीजिए, उसका रजिस्ट्रेशन कर दीजिए तब आप देखेंगे कि ये हिप्पी लोग कितनों को जाकर कत्ल करते हैं । इतना ही कह कर मैं खत्म करता हूं ।

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the question is of very serious type and it is not a matter of one party or the other but it is really a national issue which we are discussing—'Atrocities on Harijans'. The entire national press has said, the story of encounter with outrage given by the Bihar Police is not reliable and is totally wrong. What happened on 19th April at Arwal village in the Jahanabad sub-division of Bihar's Gaya district was a deliberate attempt to kill the people to deprive them of their legitimate right. The Harijan group had gathered to protest against their eviction from a plot of land in the village and that shows the theory of encounter was totally wrong. Not only that people are killed there but the estimate of the national press shows that more than 100 persons are butchered every month in the nine districts of North Bihar which are particularly prone to this kind of violence. Apart from this estimate, the primary reason for this carnage appears to be because they are asserting their rights for minimum wages and get their land. That is why atrocities are taking place. In the 20 point economic programme also, the Government is committed to it. The Government has pledged this thing to the workers but it has not created infrastructure for implementation of it or about landless so that such things can be avoided. Similar thing is happening in the land reforms. We talk of land reforms but here too, it is a question of implementation. There is no political will to implement the same and these contradictions are taking place and Harijans are killed. As said by late Dr. Lohia, it has been always the practice that wherever

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

killings take place, there must be a judicial inquiry but today, it is said that number of MPs have made a representation to the President of India that a judicial inquiry should be set up but nothing has happened so far. I would like to ask the hon'ble Minister whether the Government of India will direct a judicial inquiry to be set up in this Harijans killings? I would also like to know from him as to what version is correct? Then alone the people will be able to know about it. Secondly, if the police is responsible for this, if the officers are responsible, what action has been taken against them by the Bihar Government? It seems that no positive action, no stringent action has been taken against them. At least they should have been suspended or dismissed from service for these atrocities which they have committed on the Harijans.

Thirdly, these incidents have become a day-to-day occurrence. It is happening in many parts of the country. Especially in the Hindi belt, where the feudal system still exists, there are more atrocities on Harijans. When such incidents are occurring, why should it be a matter of debate every time in the House? Has the Home Ministry issued any guidelines to the State Governments as to what should be done whenever such incidents, such atrocities on Harijans, take place, whether an enquiry should be made or not? Do you get reports on this matter or not?

Lastly, I would like to know whether there is any monitoring in the Home Ministry on such incidents occurring in the country, especially arising out of the implementation of their own 20-point programme, of giving land to the landless and ensuring payment of minimum wages. The national press has said that this incident took place not only because of the eviction from the plot but also because of their demand for getting minimum wages. If this is the price that these workers have to pay simply because they are asking for higher wages, I think the Government has a greater responsibility to be strict in this matter. I would like to know from the Home Minister, who is a very experienced administrator, what guidelines have been issued to the State Governments and whether there is any monitoring on this aspect. Thank you.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to condemn the unjustifiable, barbarous, cruel police firing in which more than 50 innocent Harijans were killed. The birth-place of Buddha and Mahavir has been turned into a slaughter-house of Harijans. Sir, like the Mafia gangs of the United States originating from Sicily in Italy, the feudal lords in Bihar are operating their private armies to crush, to massacre innocent agricultural labourers, particularly Harijans. It is like the days before Sun Yat Sen when the warlords were doing the same thing in China. It is a shame. Now in Bihar if you say that they wanted to grab land, are you going to justify that when they want to grab a piece of land to earn their bread and butter, the State Government through its machinery can grab away their precious lives? Sir, Naxalism is not criminality. It is a socio-economic phenomenon, an outburst due to their socio-economic conditions. When the Harijan youths are being looked down upon, when they are not treated like human beings wherever they go, when they are treated like dirt, worse than cattle, due to frustration, justifiable frustration, they take up arms. This problem cannot be solved by bullets. In the name of fake 'encounters', these youths are being killed not only in Bihar but in many parts of the country. Therefore, may I ask the Government: why do you hesitate to order a judicial enquiry by a sitting Supreme Court judge, if you are innocent? I charge that the Government run by the Congress Party is supported by these feudal lords who are operating private armies. On the 22nd of July, 1977, the Congress (I) Members of Parliament thundered on the floor of this House demanding the resignation of the Janata Party Government over Belchi incident. In the same State of Bihar now this massacre has taken place. What is happening today? And when the Belchi massacre took place, Madam Indira Gandhi went there, sitting on the back of an elephant. What for? Mr. Ramanand

Yadav said, "Just to make political capital". Who? Madam Gandhi exploited the situation to make political capital out of it. If you are really sincere, why then has the Prime Minister not visited Arwal to console the bereaved families? When the Belchi incidents took place in the same State of Bihar, Madam Gandhi went there. What prevents you now to take action, to go there and console the bereaved families? So, you had only shed crocodile tears in 1977. Therefore, if you are innocent, if you are interested in protecting the Harijans, then take action to instruct the State Government to order a judicial inquiry by a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court. (*Time bell rings*) Since you have rung the bell, okay, I am concluding.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Arwal massacre is an unprecedented, premeditated, brutality unleashed and perpetrated by the Bihar Police. This is nothing short of a killing spree by the trigger—happy police of Bihar. This massacre, I am sure the House will agree, and whether the House agrees or not, I would expect the honourable Home Minister to agree, far exceeds the enormity of the brutalities perpetrated in Belchi, perpetrated in Parasbigha, perpetrated in Narayangarh. It was, if you go into the facts of the case, a pre-meditated action: it was well-orchestrated and it was in cold blood. I do not like to narrate the incidents, how the murders took place at Jahanabad speed. This should be an eye-opener. I appeal to the Government that this massacre should be taken as an eye-opener and the Government should study the matter in its correct perspective. The root causes for this kind of a massacre should be identified. According to me, the root cause of this kind of a massacre is the much vexed problem of land distribution in Bihar, not to mention others. Feudalism exists in its ugliest form in Bihar. I can give so many instances. Land reforms given a decent burial in that State I have got in my possession a report where I find some of the ruling party Ministers —I do not mention the names—are still in possession of more than 2000 acres of land; some Congress members who contested the last election are in possession of several thousands of acres of land. Does it not constitute a decent burial of land reforms? Does it not say a goodbye to the 20-point programme which includes land reforms? That is the basic problem. The Home Minister might be knowing, there was a report prepared by the late lamented Shri Yashwantrao Chauhan, the then Home Minister of this country. It is a very significant report. I would request the Minister to bring out that report. Here is another report by one Uttar Sen Gupta published in the *Telegraph* of 1-5-86. Here, Sir, there are hints to say that this massacre was "the outcome of a high-level conspiracy hatched to eliminate the peasant organisation in Bihar." It has further hinted to say that "the Chief Minister had promised the landlords of Patna-Gaya districts to get rid of the Naxalites and the peasant revolt in the region". This is enough now. What in conclusion, I would like to ask is this: Is it impossible for the Government to ban the so-called Senas? Does the Government not possess the necessary laws in this respect? When they can ban many other organisations, when they can declare strikes as illegal, what prevents the Government from declaring the Senas as illegal organisations?

Then, Sir, the second important point, a very important point, which has been raised in this debate is the collusion between the private army and the police administration. That means total State violence. State violence has got a meaning and that meaning, I think, the Home Ministry should take note of. Do you want to unleash State violence and thereby suppress the legitimate struggle of the peasants and the agricultural workers? If that is so, then it is you who are inviting a greater disaster and this House should take note of it. The question of instituting a judicial inquiry has got much importance in the sense that there are guidelines in respect of Harijans. The National Integration Council had discussed it and it has also framed certain guidelines wherein it provides that immediate inquiries are to be held wherever there are atrocities on the Harijans of this

[Shri Chitta Basu]

nature. If the Government does not agree to these proposals, if it does not agree to having a judicial inquiry, does the Government then purpose or accept the proposal to have a House committee for this purpose? After all, Members belonging to different parties, different shades of opinion, can go and visit the place, understand the problem, find out who was responsible and who were the culprits, bring those offenders to book and recommend some long-term measures also. Would the Government agree to this very simple proposal of having a committee of this House constituted for this purpose?

Lastly, Sir, I would only say that banning of these Senas is very important and the declaration of the IG of Police that he will suppress these people with the help of the private army is wrong and it is illegal. If he has said this, he has done an illegal thing. A Government official or a police official cannot make such illegal utterances. He cannot make such an utterance that the police administration in Bihar would take recourse to the private armies to deal with these people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Now, the Minister.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like the Minister to tell us first whether there is going to be a judicial inquiry by a Supreme Court Judge. We want a clear-cut reply from the Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK): Please sit down. I have called the Minister to reply now.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA): Sir, according to the information received from the Government of Bihar, there was a dispute over a piece of land in Jehanabad in the district of Gaya in Bihar between one Shri Ram Prasad Rajak and one Shri Bharat Sahu. The dispute over the land was settled in favour of Shri Rajak, a member of the Scheduled Caste, by the SDO, Jehanabad in 1985. Shri Bharat Sahu, an active member of the Kisan Mazdoor Sanghram Samiti, was, however, not satisfied with the settlement and he proclaimed that he would not able by the verdict of the Government of Bihar, but would respect the decision taken by the Kisan Mazdoor Sanghram Samiti. The Kisan Mazdoor Sanghram Samiti, the extremist faction, had given a call...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to know whether the inquiry, on the basis of which he is reading out now, was conducted by a Central agency or by the State Government.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Please listen to me.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: There is nothing new in it.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA:... (*Interruptions*) The Kisan Mazdoor Sangram Samiti, an extremist faction had given a call for grabbing the land by force on 19-4-86. To meet the situation, the Administration had, therefore, made necessary arrangements for checking aggression and for maintenance of peace. Section 144 was promulgated in the area. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Jehanabad and a senior Magistrate from Jehanabad along with a posse of lathi|tear gas and armed force was deputed. Preventive arrests were also made around noon on 19-4-86.

At about 2.30 p.m. on 19-4-86, about 600 — 700 activists of Kisan Mazdoor Sangram Samiti, armed with lethal weapons, violated section 144 and organised themselves in demolishing the boundary wall erected by Shri Rajak, Despute warning, they indulged in brick-batting and attacking the policemen. (*Interruptions*)

श्री हुक्मदेव नारायण यादव : यह बिल्कुल गलत है ।

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: What is he reading? Let us know. (*Interruptions*)

AN HON. MEMBER: He is holding a brief for .. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIEPN GHOSH: It is not expected of a Union Minister of State for Home Affairs to read out a statement written by zamindars in connivance with the police.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: You can talk anything you like. But please hear.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: In that case, will the hon. Minister agree to constitute a Parliamentary Committee? (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Please hear him.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: The bursting of tear gas shells and fire of two rounds ordered by the Magistrate on duty proved ineffective, police re-inforcement were requested and the police force came back to the Thana premises with eight arrested persons.

The Superintendent of Police, Jehanabad, together with re-inforcement reached the place around Library at about 4 p.m.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: How many policemen injured?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SHAU): Let him finish, Mr. Das Gupta. You cannot interrupt always. Please sit down.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: While he was trying to control the situation, some persons from the mob attempted an assault by axe but the Superintendent of Police escaped by ducking. Sensing threat to the life of the Superintendent of Police, the Armed Police opened fire resulting in one casualty. The rumour that the SP has been killed, however, gained prominence and the mob surrounded the Thana and, while demanding the release of the arrested persons, attacked the Thana premises.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Basically wrong. Absolutely false.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: They resorted to firing through illegal arms causing immediate danger to public property and peace. On Magistrate's order, the notice returned the fire resulting in 11 deaths.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: We are not prepared to listen to bunkum. This is all bunkum. (*Interruptions*)

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : हम इसको सुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं ।

श्री हुकमदेव नारायण यादव : यह झूठ है । हरिजनों की हत्या करो, झूठा इल्जाम लगाओ ।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He is giving a police report.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): On a point of order. Sir, when the Minister has heard the speeches of different speakers from this House, he is expected to give replies to the various points raised by the Members. But he is reading.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): Now, I may tell you that let him finish it. How can you say whether he has replied to your points or not? Please have the patience.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Twenty persons were injured who were rushed to Patna Medical College Hospital. Later, 10 more died in Hospital. Nineteen police personnel were injured, two of whom received gun-shot injuries. Forty-four persons were arrested and a large number of traditional weapons, one illegal rifle and 3 country-made pistols and a number of live ammunition were recovered. A case has been instituted against 47 persons under sections 147|148|149|188|337|323| 324| 447|379|511|307| and 353 IPC and Section 25-B|27 of Arms Act. It is under investigaation.

Out of 21 persons who died, 14 have been identified and 7 are yet to be identified. (*Interruptions*)

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : जुडीशियल इन्क्वायरी करने के लिए . . . (व्यवधान)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We are not prepared to hear all this. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): After the speech you can ask for clarifications. (*Interruptions*)

(*At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber*)

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA: Amongst the dead, six are Harijans and eight non-Harijans with extremist background. Amongst the dead, one is also a Muslim. The State Government have also ordered an inquiry into the incident by the Member, Board of Revenue, Bihar. It is not a case of Harijan atrocities. It is basically a law and order problem, which is the concern of the State Government. Therefore, nothing needs to be done on the part of the Government of India.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU): The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

The House adjourned at thirty five minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 8th May, 1986.